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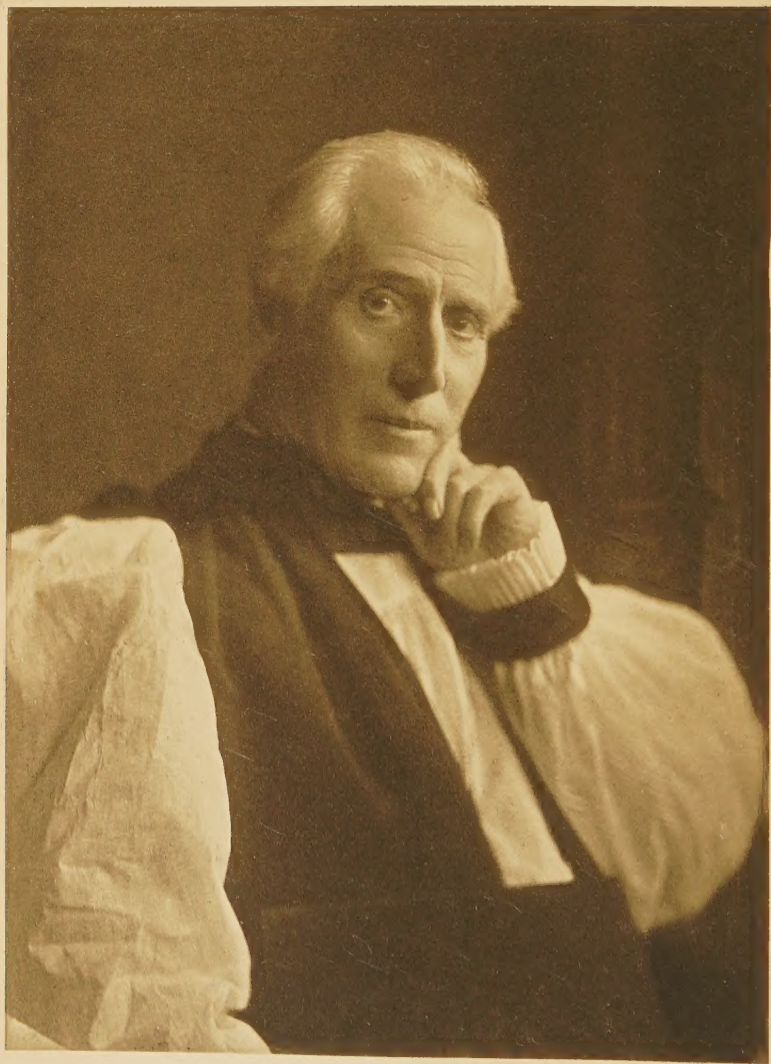
LIFE OF BISHOP PERCIVAL



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L. Hereford

John Percival, Bishop of Hereford.

LIFE OF BISHOP PERCIVAL

BY

WILLIAM TEMPLE

BISHOP OF MANCHESTER

THE
LIFE OF
BISHOP PERCIVAL

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
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PREFACE

THE invitation to write the Life of a man whom one profoundly honours, and to whom one is bound by ties of the deepest gratitude, is hardly to be refused. I undertook the work as an obligation and a privilege, but without any expectation that I could do justice to the theme. Percival was not a prolific letter-writer, nor was he one who kept a record of events or impressions in a diary. The material has been very scanty. I have tried to avoid mere comment, as far as possible to let Percival speak in his own words where they are available, and to call reliable witnesses for those periods of which I could know nothing at first hand. There was little of subjectivism in Percival, and his biography should be as objective as it can be made.

Naturally I have been at all points dependent on others. I hope the obligations are duly noted in the text, but some are so conspicuous as to call for a special reference. First, I must name the members of the Bishop's family—Mrs. Percival, The Rev. Preb. L. J. Percival, and Mrs. Johnson—who have given me every kind of help and support. For the earlier chapters I have received invaluable assistance from Canon J. M. Wilson, Sir Herbert Warren, Bishop Robertson, and Mr. G. F. Bradby. The chapters dealing with the Hereford episcopate I could not have handled at all without the aid of Canon Bannister, who supplied me with a great quantity of documents admirably sorted ;

Prebendary Wynne Willson and the Archdeacon of Hereford also gave me help of the utmost value.

I have further to thank the Rev. F. A. Iremonger for reading the whole work in proof, and Mr. E. M. Oakeley, an old friend of the Bishop, for the laborious work of preparing the index.

Besides all of these I have to thank my wife for great help in the sorting and copying of documents, and for continuous criticism and suggestion. To her the book owes most of any merit it may possess in arrangement of subject-matter and continuity of narrative.

W. MANCHESTER.

September 1921.

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CHAPTER I

EARLY YEARS

THE increasing pace of modern life has done much to rob the world of great personalities. The ease of movement and of communication has made almost impossible the relative isolation in which marked individuality is shaped. We run to and fro, and knowledge is increased. But the men of our generation have little time to strike deep roots; they are not thrown upon their own resources; they do not fully find themselves. The average of moral and intellectual attainment is probably higher than in former times. But the overcoming of obstacles, which were too great for the many to surmount, was strengthening and stimulating to the few who were successful. The nineteenth century was marked by many great and outstanding figures, who made their own careers, to a great extent developed their own minds, formed and expressed their own judgments, firmly went their own way, lived in a certain detachment from the world about them, and therefore influenced that world as none who more fully shared its life and outlook could ever do. Such a figure was John Percival. One who knew him intimately in old age said of him that in memory he stood out like a sunlit promontory. It is an apt figure. The recollection of him is of one who stood rooted in his own conviction; storms and conflicts of opinion and passion might surge round him; but he still stood firm, and not only firm, but calm, peaceful and bright, because he knew his own mind, and the grounds on which he had made it up, and the God to whom it was utterly devoted.

His circumstances in boyhood were such as to encourage to the full the development of individuality. His father was a Westmoreland "statesman," that is to say, a farmer owning his own land, and apparently a typical dalesman. This William Percival lived at Brough Sowerby with his father until his marriage. In 1834 he was married by licence in St. Michael's Church, Brough under Stainmore, to Jane Langmire, daughter of William and Ann Langmire, who was born in 1809 in the farm-house known as Laitha and was baptized on August 24 of that year. It was at the house of his mother's parents that John Percival was born on September 27, 1834.

William Percival lived for some years at Winton, and then at Brough Sowerby. He was a man of strong, fearless character, not given to speech, but straight and courageous in all his dealings. He had a vigorous brain as well as a powerfully built body, and read widely. Later on, his son used to send him supplies of books. He was a great wrestler, winning many prizes. Concerning two of these prizes John Percival wrote many years afterwards to his son the Rev. L. J. Percival.

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
May 13, 1914.

DEAR LANCE—I had a letter from Janie¹ this morning, in which she asked if I thought you would like to take charge, on Jack's behalf, of a silver snuff-box which was won long, long ago by my father in some wrestling match. . . . My father was a famous wrestler in his youth, and when in London won the prize at the Cumberland and Westmoreland wrestling. This was a silver cup. You and I would both feel that it is a drawback to the cup that, as the inscription on it records, it was won on a Good Friday.—Yours affectionately,

J. HEREFORD.

When John was only three years old his mother died, on July 28, 1838, at the age of twenty-nine. Writing many years later, in 1882, to Mr. Furneaux, afterwards Dean of Winchester, he said: "The only thing I remember at all distinctly of my mother is the look on her face as she lay dead; and the longer I live, the more I feel how the early

¹ His half-sister.

loss impoverished and saddened my life." His father engaged a housekeeper to look after the house, and in 1848 married her. On his mother's death, John Percival and his baby sister, Ann, then one year old,¹ were sent to live with their uncle and aunt, Richard and Elizabeth Langmire. The little boy first went to school at Winton. Later the uncle and aunt went to live at Helson, near Lowther, and he was sent to the school at Hackthorpe. He used to look enviously at the boys who went to Appleby Grammar School, and when he was twelve years old his ambition was satisfied, for he was transferred to that school on the advice of friends who had marked his promise.

He was an ardent scholar, not at all ready to substitute work in the fields for his school work. One day his uncle said: "You can't go to school to-morrow, John; there's too much to do afield." He asked what it was that required doing, and, having been told, took care to be up next morning at the first peep of light; by breakfast time he had done his share of the job, and afterwards went off to school as usual.

Mr. W. Robinson, who knew Percival in his school days, writes:

Being also a native of dear old Brough I still retain a vivid recollection of the late Bishop Percival's school-boy days, though he was my senior by a few years. One incident connected with those far-off times, before the opening of the Eden Valley Railway, still lives in my memory—seeing him trudging to and from Appleby Grammar School with a blue linen bag of books over his shoulder, in his clogs, in the winter time.

Sir James Whitehead once remarked in a letter about old times that he, too, remembered John Percival's clogs: "He wore clogs with brass sides when he first came to Appleby School, and he made all the rest of us very jealous of his superior turn-out." Sir James Whitehead became a life-long friend. In 1876 his son, George, went to Clifton to be under Percival, who insisted on receiving him as a guest for his first term, and returned the amount of the boarding

¹ She died on June 17, 1851, aged fourteen.

fees, paid in advance, with the request that it should be invested for the boy's benefit when he should require it.

Miss Thomson, the granddaughter of a Mrs. Breeks at whose home the boy was always made welcome, writes :

My grandmother and her daughters were living at Warcop, which is almost half-way between Brough and Appleby, and when John Percival began going to Appleby Grammar School, old Dr. Jefferson, the vicar of Brough, wrote to my grandmother and asked her to be kind to the boy. I believe he stayed the week with friends in Appleby and went home for the week-end in winter, and in summer rode in daily from Brough.¹ It became quite a custom for him to drop in on my grandmother for tea on the way back, and the result was a lifelong friendship with her and my aunts.

The story of him riding to school at a headlong pace and with infinite clatter up the Appleby streets still lives in those parts. Many years afterwards Dr. Percival was waiting for a train at Rugby, when the old night-stationmaster came up and said that he used every morning, as he swept out his father's shop in Appleby, to see young John Percival ride by at top speed on his way to school ; he was always on a chestnut pony and his own red hair was always flying in the wind.

In after life Percival always maintained that he owed everything to his Aunt Elizabeth and, later on, to the splendid teaching of Mr. Richardson, the Headmaster of Appleby. His aunt made him learn some portion of the Bible every day ; that is why he knew most of the Psalms by heart, for he never forgot the passages and psalms which he learnt in those early days.

At Appleby he came under the influence of the Rev. John Richardson, who was then Headmaster and was giving his boys an excellent education on the lines then usual in grammar schools, that is to say, an excellent grounding in mathematics, and in Latin and Greek grammar and composition, with few efforts to stimulate flights of speculation or refinement of appreciation. He was also fortunate in

¹ He was not then living at Brough, but at Helson. A daughter of this Mrs. Breeks mentioned above married George Moore, the philanthropist, with whom Percival became intimate. See pp. 40-43.

the friendship of the Rev. Henry King, at whose house he was always welcome and through whom he made many friends.

It was a strenuous childhood, in which the boy was thrown very much on his own resources. The death of his younger sister at the age of fourteen left him without companions of his own age at home. The long walk or ride to school gave much time for the growing mind to form habits of independent thought, and created in the young Percival a readiness to think for himself and to be much alone in his opinions. The whole scenery of the region must have had a great influence on him. It is beautiful, but with a curious reserve in its beauty. It is wild without tragedy. The long valleys with bleak sides and notched sky-lines are in strong contrast with the mingled luxuriance and barrenness of the Lake District with its brilliantly green valleys and sharply individual mountain peaks, or with the long rolling Yorkshire moors. There is a kind of quiet suavity, which is only broken by hints of sternness in the protruding rock. Percival as Headmaster and Bishop bore some real resemblance to his native dales.

In 1879, the year in which he left Clifton for Trinity, T. E. Brown saw him among his own hills and dales, and thus describes the scene in a letter to Mr. J. E. Pearson :

We were climbing up from the town (at Appleby) to the station, when suddenly far above us, on a high bank against the sky-line, was P., a solemn and almost awful figure and face, not melancholy, but stern and hard, far-reach of eye, the pose of memories and back-seeking. His old school lay beneath his feet, his old church, his old river, his old self.¹

In 1855 he was elected a Taberdar, or open scholar, at Queen's College, Oxford, and immediately went into residence. Few memories of his undergraduate career survive. It was a time of almost uninterrupted labour ; but Lord Bryce and others testify to his reputation as a man of peculiar strength alike of character and of intellect. A year after going into residence he obtained a Double First—in Classical and in Mathematical Moderations. He had

¹ *Letters of T. E. Brown*, vol. i. p. 84.

already won the Junior Mathematical Scholarship, and some consternation was caused when the first question put to him in a *viva voce* examination on the rudiments of Latin, Greek, and Mathematics, which all undergraduates had to pass, was, "How do you spell parallelogram?" He answered correctly, and was asked why he had spelt it wrong all through his Euclid paper. He replied that he had not offered Euclid at all, but Algebra. The examiners had confused his papers with those of another candidate. Two years after his success in Moderations came another Double First—in Greats and in Mathematical Finals. Soon after taking his degree he was elected a Fellow of Queen's College.

Such is the bare record of the facts ; and it explains why there is little else to record. A career marked by those successes had little room for sport or for the amenities which provide material for anecdote.¹

He was keenly alive to the spiritual and intellectual influences at work in the world at this time, and to the end of his life he appreciated the privilege of passing his youth in a period so full of promise for the world. Preaching to the undergraduates of Cambridge at Great St. Mary's on February 28, 1909, he said :

Contrast for a moment the conditions of your own youth here to-day, and mine fifty years ago. When I was a young man, as you are, breathing the atmosphere of undergraduate life as you breathe it to-day, forming habits of thought and purpose under its influence, and looking forward, as you are looking, the time was pregnant with far-reaching changes. Its thought was inspired and dominated by unusually great personalities. Carlyle, Ruskin, Wordsworth, Shelley, Tennyson, Bentham, Mill ; these were names to conjure with. Browning, Spencer, Darwin, were just rising above the horizon in front of us. It was the birth period of Darwinian evolutionary thought, and of all the new speculation of which that thought is the parent. On the other hand, it was the beginning, or

¹ He had been very fond of cricket, but while playing on one occasion had hurt his knee so badly that it was thought he would always have a stiff leg. After some years it was cured by Hutton, but he could never play cricket again.

near it, of the great industrial, commercial, scientific development, and the vast and greedy geographical expansion which have brought a multitude of changes into our life and habits.

The young Percival noted the movements of the age at once with appreciation and with criticism. He was quite capable of selecting the influences to which he would open his soul. He was zealous to receive all that was best in his environment, but quick also to mark the tendencies which in his judgment should be resisted.

At this time, however, it seemed as if all hopes were to be disappointed. He had always been delicate; he was threatened with serious chest trouble. No insurance office would insure his life either at this time or four years later at the time of his marriage. He had attempted the Honours History School, but could only take two of the papers. In them he reached the standard of a First Class, and was awarded an *Aegrotat*. But his strength was exhausted. The strain indicated by his academic record had been too much for him. One doctor said that he would never do another day's work. It was Mr. Symonds, whose daughter was to be his second wife, who sent him abroad. He went to his old friends, Mr. and Mrs. King, who were then at Pau; and Mrs. King arranged for him to stay in rooms immediately below those occupied at the time by an English family. This event had an important sequel, for one of the ladies of that English family became his wife a few years later.

It was in the winter of 1858-59 that he went to Pau. In 1860 he was back in England. In that year he was ordained deacon, and accepted Dr. Temple's invitation to join the staff at Rugby.

The first suggestion that he should go to Rugby was made in the following letter from Mr. Jex Blake, afterwards his predecessor in the Rugby Headmastership, and later Dean of Wells:

RUGBY,
August 23, 1860.

MY DEAR PERCIVAL—Temple has offered a Classical Mastership to a man now abroad, and does not hear from him. If he does not hear from him in three or four days at most, he must

find a substitute till October term begins at Oxford. If it is offered you (£90 or £100 with it) will you take it and come at once? How soon?

I am not told to offer it; but to ask, will *you* take it if offered? Pray say, Yes. If you come here for seven weeks or so, Temple will like you; and when a Mathematical vacancy occurs, he would (in my opinion) offer it you. You would like this place much; and by coming temporarily would see how you would like it permanently.

The temporary work now is Classical, in the Lower School; not hard, and not long hours. Pray consent (if the offer comes) to extricate yourself from work for the time; or to sacrifice a little tour, or money. I think it improbable that the man now abroad can answer in time.

Write at once.—Yours affectionately,

T. W. JEX BLAKE.

Percival consulted the Provost of Queen's before replying. The Provost at this date was the redoubtable Thomson, afterwards Archbishop of York; his advice was: "I quite agree with Blake that you should take what would be a very nice thing and cannot fail to do you good." So he went to Rugby, and became a member of the permanent staff.

Of his short first period at Rugby few tales survive. But it is recorded that he brought upon himself a rebuke from Patey, the School Marshal, with whom he lodged, by giving boys beer for breakfast when he invited them to take that meal with him.

It was not his first experience of teaching, for Mr. Richardson had made him an "usher" at Appleby before he went up to Oxford. But the contrast between that teaching work and this must have been immense. He found himself the member of a brilliant society; the Rugby staff then was a wonderful one. It had indeed lost two of its brightest luminaries. Benson had lately left to launch Wellington on its career; and Bradley to become the second founder of Marlborough. But those who remained were a most remarkable group of men. Notably, Tom Evans was delighting "the Twenty"—its scholars by his exquisite learning, its idlers by his indifference to indolence. J. M. Wilson was introducing Natural Science for the first time into a Public

School curriculum, and even experimenting with Mill's Logic as a school subject. From that splendid veteran comes the following impression of Percival at this stage :

Percival joined the staff at Rugby in September 1860. I had been appointed early in 1859. The school and staff were growing rapidly. Of the staff of that date I am the sole survivor. One clear impression, and one only, stands out after nearly sixty years—that he already was then what I felt him still more clearly to be in every subsequent decade of his life. In speaking of him at Clifton, at the College Jubilee in 1912, I said that "he never was young, and never was old." At Rugby we all knew, even then, that he was unlike us, maturer, at a different stage, and that he had some future. He played no games ; he had no hobbies ; he made no intimate friends among masters or boys. He was always agreeable to meet ; not at all unsociable. But he stood alone.

The Rugby staff was then a very strong staff ; and no advanced work of any sort was found for him. He had in Classics a form of some thirty-five boys of the standard of an Upper Third ; and probably in Mathematics he taught nothing beyond arithmetic and simple equations and the first book of Euclid. There is no doubt that he did not enjoy his work, and that he was not very successful in it. He was not at ease nor sympathetic with boys averaging perhaps about fourteen years old, made hard both to teach and to control by the free intermixture of backward and lazy fellows of sixteen and seventeen ; for there were then no rules for superannuation. We had the impression that he would not long be content with school work, and that he would return to the University, or take up public life in some form.

Memory of incidents is, of course, very scanty after so long a time. But one scene stands out. Some half-dozen of us young masters had started a "symposium," dining together in the middle of the day at a confectioner's in High Street. A new master, James Robertson, afterwards the distinguished Headmaster of Haileybury, joined the staff, and was invited to join the "symposium." He came in on the first day of term when we had all sat down. Some of us saw him then for the first time. He was a formidable-looking person, with brawny shoulders and an expression at first sight alarming. He took his seat after our greeting, and there was silence. Suddenly came his grim question—"Do any of you fellows box?" Percival was equal to the occasion. "I think," he said, with

his gentle voice and smile, " I think we should like a few lessons first."

I have said that some of us expected him to give up school work. But we all felt that Temple alone had read him right when he suggested the daring appointment of Percival at the age of twenty-seven, to take Clifton College instead of the great and well-known Fifth Form master at Rugby, Charles Evans, who had at the last moment thrown over Clifton in order to become Headmaster of his old school at Birmingham. The selection showed a deeper insight than any of us possessed.



JOHN PERCIVAL. Oxford, June 15, 1858.



HEADMASTER OF CLIFTON, 1878.

CHAPTER II

CLIFTON

IN September 1862 Clifton College opened with sixty boys. The Council had consulted Dr. Temple, then Headmaster of Rugby, who recommended an undeniably suitable candidate, Charles Evans, to take charge of the new society. The Council appointed him, and announced the appointment. But before much had been done to complete the arrangements, the Headmastership of Evans's own old school fell vacant, and he desired to be a candidate. Delay on the Clifton side was impossible ; the Council naturally desired to be in a position to announce another name as soon as the appointment of Evans to Birmingham was announced, if it was to take place at all. Accordingly, Canon Guthrie, on behalf of the Clifton Council, again approached Dr. Temple. This was a surprise to many, who thought that as his first candidate had deserted Clifton, he would not be consulted again. His judgment of the men under consideration included a very strong recommendation of Percival, who was not yet twenty-eight years old. Undoubtedly it was a bold action to recommend so young a man for " the building up of Clifton College on the green fields of the Bristol downs." But Temple promised that if he were appointed he would do for Clifton what Arnold had done for Rugby.

Canon Guthrie arranged that Percival should receive a telegram from Evans to tell him the result of the Birmingham election ; he wished that, if Evans were elected, Percival should at once travel to Bristol so as to be in readiness for an interview if the Council, which was to meet that day,

could be persuaded to see him then. In this way Guthrie hoped to secure that the election of Percival at Clifton might be announced on the same day as the election of Evans to Birmingham, and thus public confidence with regard to the nascent College might not be undermined. But it was plainly very difficult for Percival to go to Bristol on such terms. He might have found himself in an utterly false position. So he consulted his chief, and received the following reply :

ALVECHURCH, Aug. 25, 1862.
Rugby to-morrow.

DEAR PERCIVAL—If Charles Evans will allow you to use his name, so far as to say that you go to Canon Guthrie by his recommendation, it will be well to go. But otherwise I think it would be out of place. I had a note from Guthrie the day after I saw you asking my opinion about yourself and Bradley. I gave him full answers. He did not directly ask for a judgment between you, and I did not give one.

I think you will have this to bear in mind in the present queer conjuncture. If Evans resigns Clifton and then fails at Birmingham, you will hardly have any choice but to give him back Clifton if it has meanwhile been given to you.

I quite understand your growing desire to succeed. You men who want to get married can never be held when once the chance of an opening has shown itself.—Yours ever,

F. TEMPLE.

It was not found possible to proceed with quite so much expedition as Canon Guthrie had hoped. The Council met on August 29, but it was decided to postpone a decision until September 4. Writing on August 29 to Percival, Canon Guthrie says : “ I may say *for myself* that the impression was evidently most favourable to yourself. The delay does not rest with me and is mischievous to all parties. But it will pass.”

When the interview took place, one member of the Council observed, “ You are very young, Mr. Percival.” “ And unmarried,” added another. “ A few years will correct the former,” replied the candidate, “ and a few weeks the latter.” The Council appointed him, and the place of Clifton among the great Public Schools was from that moment secure.

A few days later he received a letter from his former Provost, who had become Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, and was soon to be translated to the Archbishopric of York :

PENMAENMAWR, NEAR CONWAY,
Sept. 6, 1862.

MY DEAR PERCIVAL—Most heartily do I wish you well in your new office. To be appointed to such a charge so young puts a great responsibility upon you. But with a generous mind this will only produce a greater wish to do good service.

I trust you will be blessed with the power, not only to teach the minds of your pupils, but to imbue their souls with a sense of the importance of their life here and with love to God.—Ever most truly yours,

W. GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL.

There was an abundance of business to be done, and he had to pay a visit to his old home in Westmoreland. Of this visit a record remains in two letters from Mrs. and Miss Breeks, two members of the family with which he used to have tea on his way from the school at Appleby to his home at Brough :

EDEN GATE,
Sept. 11, 1862.

MY DEAR MR. PERCIVAL—Seeing in the *Times* that you were appointed Headmaster to the Clifton College, I beg to offer you my sincere congratulations, together with my daughters, on the event. It is highly complimentary, for so young a man, to be presented to so responsible a position, and I sincerely trust you may be blessed with health to fulfil the duties and enjoy the privileges of the situation. All we Westmoreland folks are proud to call you a neighbour, seeing you have so highly distinguished yourself, only in future we shall feel afraid of you and have to hide our diminished heads. . . . With our united kind regards and every good wish for your future.—Believe me, yours very sincerely,

E. BREEKS.

MY DEAR MR. PERCIVAL—I cannot resist the pleasure of enclosing a wee note to you in mother's letter, to express more individually Ellen's and my warmest congratulations on your new appointment, and our hopes that your brightest anticipations of honour and success will be realised, and that you will

reap the full reward of your labours. Clifton is a nice place, and the country must be well known to you after your frequent visits to the neighbourhood, and I hope the climate will suit you as well as the more bracing breezes of your native hills do.

I *almost* wrote to you on our return home, after seeing you start on your southward journey waving so frantically Close's book! How could you waste your money on such folly! how could you patronise *such* a man! We stood transfixed on the bridge and could hardly believe our senses, and were so petrified we could not pull our handkerchiefs out in time to return your passing signal, though we wished you heartily a pleasant journey and much intellectual enjoyment with your *yellow* companion!

Again begging you to accept our heartiest congratulations and kind regards.—Believe me, yours very truly,

E. BREEKS.

Sept. 11, 1862.

On October 11, 1862, the new Headmaster was married to Miss Louisa Holland, whose acquaintance he had made four years before at Pau. She was a daughter of James Holland and her mother was a Hardwicke—both Lincolnshire names. Percival had found it impossible to manage the School House alone, so Canon and Mrs. Guthrie telegraphed to Miss Holland to come to them. From their house she was married, and from the same house drove with her husband to Clevedon for a two days' honeymoon. On their return the school met them, took the horses out of the carriage and dragged them home. It was to his wife that Percival owed the happy home life which formed the background of his work at Clifton, Oxford, and Rugby, and for a brief spell also at Hereford. Some glimpse of this life and of the social circles at Clifton is given in a statement by Mrs. Lewis Campbell, widow of Dr. Lewis Campbell, the famous Professor of Greek at St. Andrews and biographer of Jowett: ¹

My first acquaintance with Dr. Percival dates from the summer of 1858, when he was the first visitor received by me and my husband, in our home at Milford Vicarage, Hants. Mr. Percival was then very tired, after obtaining his First Class at Queen's College, Oxford, where my husband had been his

¹ Mrs. Lewis Campbell died in February 1921.

tutor since 1856. He went afterwards to the Pyrenees for rest and change, and it was there that he met Louisa Holland, who soon after became his wife. In 1862, at the age of twenty-seven, he was appointed Headmaster of Clifton College, which was then just starting. I wish I could give any idea of what he and his wife were at this time, and of the way in which they both carried all before them for the good of the school. He, with his tall figure and powerfully firm grave countenance, which on occasion broke with the sweetest smile; she, with her small figure and face with brilliant brown eyes, lit up with tireless energy and keen power of enjoyment, made a most vivid and valuable contrast.

The masters formed quite a society within the bounds of the School. T. E. Brown, H. J. Wiseman, G. H. Wollaston, S. T. Irwin, C. H. Cay, Graham Dakyns, E. M. Oakeley, T. W. Dunn, etc., etc. Of these, T. E. Brown, C. H. Cay, and T. W. Dunn were my husband's most intimate friends.

Mr. and Mrs. Percival gathered about them every one of interest in the neighbourhood who might also contribute to the success of the School. The family of Dr. Symonds, the Misses Susannah, Catherine, and Alice Winkworth, Miss Frances Power Cobbe, the Alleynes, the Foxes, the Waits, the Battersby Harfords of Blaize Castle, Lewis Fry and his family, and many others. We paid them a visit each summer, so that we got to know the School well, and marked its growth. We watched the cricket matches, and joined in picnics organised by Mrs. Percival, in which she and Mrs. George Wollaston were the life of the party.

Children came to them quickly¹—but nothing abated the energy of the brilliant and original little mother, who now had to spend herself on the needs of her young family, as well as the School and her friends.

Miss Alice Winkworth, who knew the Clifton and Bristol of those days, writes :

The establishment of Clifton College, and the coming of the Percivals to the School-house, brought a new element into Clifton society, which had been up till then much divided into exclusive cliques. Clifton was almost entirely conservative in its politics, while Bristol was equally radical in opinion. But at the School-house dinner-table people belonging to different

¹ The names of the eight children were Robert Hardwicke, Elizabeth Ann, John Guthrie, Charles, Launcelot Jepherson, Arthur Jex Blake, Frederick and William. Charles and William died in early childhood.

cliques met each other and found they had something in common, and the young people of various "sets" were brought together to practise part-music for Mrs. Percival's musical parties.

Certainly Mrs. Percival's energy was magnificent. Owing to a carriage accident before her marriage one lung was useless and she had a long spell of coughing every morning. Besides attending to her family she managed the School House with its seventy boys and nineteen servants, the two School Sanatoriums and a dairy farm and laundry four miles away. She was hostess and almost mother to the younger masters. Every week she had a musical party for young people and there were many evening parties. Almost always there were visitors staying in the house. But Mrs. Percival was equal to it all and put life into everything.

Mrs. Watson, the wife of an old Clifton master, writes of her :

I wish I could write down all that I feel with regard to Mrs. Percival, or give any idea of what she was to me—how warmly she welcomed me as a new-comer to Clifton, how she made me feel that I could go to her at any time for help and counsel, though if any illness or anxiety occurred she never delayed to come and cheer and help in every possible way, but flew to one's bedside or fireside, breaking down all reserve and going straight to one's heart, so that it was impossible not to love her ; and she was so bright and cheery herself, that she brought brightness wherever she went. And the warm-hearted kindness that she showed to me was, I know, given to all around her without stint and without fail, from the most important of those about her, to the lowliest of her dependants and their belongings. I need hardly say, what is so well known, that she and Dr. Percival made Clifton College quite a social power in the place, and that their influence was widely felt in the neighbourhood, as well as in the College. After they had left Clifton it was always a joy to meet Dr. and Mrs. Percival again, whether there or in their later homes, where we always had the warmest of welcomes from both.

An incident illustrating the gentleness which was always a deeper element in Percival than the severity often more conspicuous is told of the early Clifton days by Mr. J. R. Mozley¹:

¹ Mr. J. R. Mozley and the Rev. E. A. Abbott (late Headmaster of the City of London School), two distinguished Cambridge Senior Chancellor's Medallists, joined the Clifton staff in 1864.

In the year 1866 I was staying with the Percivals, and another ex-master (since then distinguished in literature) was staying there with me ; we two, to while away a summer's day, planned an expedition to Cheddar, and took with us a lady who was also a guest in the house. It was a delightful day as far as Cheddar was concerned ; but our study of Bradshaw had been imperfect, and we missed our trains marvellously. Long after midnight, a good deal abashed (especially on the lady's account) we rang the bell at the School-house door. Percival himself met us ; I confess I feared he might show some annoyance ; but his hospitality was far too genuine for that. " We have been battling with the railways," one of us said. He smiled, and simply answered, " Yes, and you won " ; and the words, combined with the manner, soothed our self-reproach. His courtesy had root in Christian humility, which was a true part of his nature.

Percival's task was to build up an adequate staff. No part of a headmaster's duty is more important than the selection of his assistants ; here Percival was supreme. He cared comparatively little for technical qualifications, but had an unerring eye for individuality and character. His Clifton staff was one of the most brilliant ever gathered together at a single school.

The method by which he secured assistant masters may be illustrated by the experience of the late Dean of Winchester. Mr. Furneaux, as he was then, was taking an Oxford pupil in his rooms in Grove Street. Shortly before 12 o'clock there was a knock at the door and the visitor announced himself in the words : " I am Percival of Clifton. Can I speak to you ? " Mr. Furneaux asked him to take a chair, saying that he would have done with his pupil shortly and would then be glad to hear what Percival had to say. Percival, however, went out and sat on the stairs. A few minutes later the pupil left and Percival came in. He said : " I want you to come and be my Sixth Form master at Clifton. I have been speaking to your old Headmaster, Bradley, about you, and he told me to come and sit here till you agreed. That's what I mean to do." Furneaux explained that he meant to take parish work. But Percival stayed on, until at about 1.30 he suggested that Furneaux

should come to Clifton as an experiment. Furneaux suggested coming for a term. Percival insisted on a year, and ultimately this was agreed on. A little later on, Furneaux was offered a mastership at Marlborough, a school then more fully established than Clifton had as yet become, and when Furneaux consulted Percival about it he found that Percival had originated the idea. He said: "You would make a very bad parish priest and had better stick to school-mastering." Furneaux accepted, and was a master at Marlborough until he became Headmaster of Repton.

Such irresistible tactics appear to have been adopted from the very first. As soon as he knew that he was to go to Clifton, Percival decided that one of his colleagues must be H. G. Dakyns, whose home was at Rugby. While Percival was still there, but was already arranging about the opening of the school at Clifton, he confirmed the appointment of Dakyns as one of his staff. According to the victim's account in later days this tornado of a Headmaster said, "When can you begin, Dakyns?" "Oh, quite soon," Dakyns replied; "in two or three days at most." "There's a train in an hour's time," said Percival; "they are rather hard pressed down there. I think you had better take that." And Dakyns did.

Some impression of the staff which resulted from Percival's insight and determination is given in Canon Wilson's description of Clifton as he came to know it when he succeeded Percival in the Headmastership:

I wish that I could give some adequate description or impression of that vague reality—the *tone* of Clifton College when I became its Headmaster. But it is forty years ago; and at that distance of time recollections are untrustworthy. I will, however, offer one or two such recollections.

The men on the staff were beyond all question men of unusual ability and personality. I am quite sure that in saying this I am no mere *laudator temporis acti*. And they were extraordinarily well fitted for their several posts. I cannot fancy a Sixth Form master better in any way than the much loved and deeply regretted Norman Moor; an old Cliftonian, wisest of advisers in all school matters, and a fine and true scholar; and he was well supported by E. H. C. Smith, still on the staff. Then the form below the Sixth was in the hands of C. Vaughan,

scholar, historian, and lover of literature ; a great and enthusiastic, not to say fiery teacher, who left his mark on every one, later a well-known Professor of English Literature. Who could have more sympathetically drawn out the love of literature and scholarship than W. W. Asquith and Irwin, Fifth Form masters ? These three men have all become recognised far outside the school world.

And then there was T. E. Brown. What he was I will not attempt to say. But any one who knows his poems and his letters, edited the one by Dakyns and the other by Irwin, his colleagues, can imagine what an inspiration and delight Brown was on the staff. Our Science again was in the hands of two men who both rose to eminence in the world of science—Professor Macgregor in Physics, and one who is now the well-known Sir William Tilden in Chemistry. Every man seemed made exactly for the place he filled. That was one impression left on me. I ought of course to mention others. Dakyns, for example, and Oakeley ; Grenfell and Tait ; and Hall and Stevens, so widely known in the mathematical world—all men of rare personality and utter devotion to the School. And so I might go on. Percival had the rare gift of choosing men of character, of putting them where their genius would find a suitable field of work, of giving them large freedom, and thus getting the very best out of them. It is a rare gift ; but one most precious in a man placed at the head of a large staff.

Then as regards the boys, two things struck me specially. One was their modesty and good manners, and the other was their high standard of industry and intelligence. I cannot be wrong in thinking that the Sixth Form, which in fear and trembling I took in May 1879, was a remarkable one. The long list of those who obtained scholarships that year bear witness. The great University honours to be won by those who were then schoolboys were scholarships at Trinity College, Cambridge, one of which fell that year to H. H. Turner, now Professor of Astronomy at Oxford ; and the six scholarships or exhibitions at Balliol. For those six in the following November we sent up three boys. The result shall be told in the words of Mrs. Percival. “ I went,” she wrote, “ at the hour fixed for putting up the list at Balliol. I could not get near enough to see, but I heard some one exclaim, ‘ Clifton has got three—the beggars.’ ”

There is every proof that when Percival left the School it was at a very high standard of character and industry and scholarship and literary taste.

And there is what every one knows as the “ moral tone ” of the school : a public opinion and conscience as to honesty

in work, bullying, smoking in private, swagger, betting, and indecencies in language and act. Schools, and sometimes houses in the same school, differ amazingly in these most important matters.

Forty years ago there was a society of assistant masters known to its members, and to a few others, as the U.U.'s. Not more than two assistant masters selected from each of the great Public Schools might be members. "United Ushers" we called ourselves. (Temple once heard our short title and declared it stood for "Uneasy Underlings.") We met at one another's schools frequently, and discussed everything; and nothing was more evident than the great moral difference between schools, or more perplexing on the surface than the causes of these differences. We used to speak with entire frankness: many reasons affecting the schools were considered; material arrangements, home influences, tutor systems, punishments, vigilance, sermons, preparation for confirmation, private talks confession, etc.—everything we could think of. But there was one thing on which we were agreed: that far the most important element was the personality of the Headmaster, felt in ways not easily traced; through his influence on his staff, on the Sixth Form, and in Chapel. I think all, or nearly all, of the U.U.'s in early days were laymen; not disposed to overestimate religious influences; and yet we felt that religion, the real thing, the sense of responsibility to God for the use of life, was at the bottom of the influence of a Headmaster. It was his *reality*; but it was something more than that. We knew of Headmasters as real and whole-hearted in their faith as men could be, highly gifted and eloquent, who, however, only influenced a very few boys of their own type, while the school was untouched by them and went their own way. And there were others, and Percival was one, whose words somehow rang true in the ears of the not naturally religious boy, and enlisted him on the side of right, of public spirit, of purity, of large-heartedness and courage, of virtues which appeal to a boy.

It is the personality behind the words. The school sermons of men like Temple and Percival and Arthur Sidgwick,¹ to name those I knew best, may be read without evoking in the reader the response that was felt by the hearer. That cannot be reproduced. Where there is that personality, that reality, and that simplicity in the preacher, school sermons are a real power, though the majority of the school listen very little to them, and absorb but an infinitesimal fraction of the emotion and the insight they contain.

¹ See his *School Homilies* (Sidgwick & Jackson).

So I am sure it was with Percival. One great centre from which his influence radiated was the School pulpit. Those who wish to understand it may well read Sir Henry Newbolt's school novel, *The Twymans*, which plainly has embodied some of his old school recollections of Clifton College.

The passage in which Sir Henry Newbolt gives his recollection of the impression made on him and on the School by Percival as a preacher is as follows :

His eloquence—in Percy's opinion stirring beyond all comparison—was eloquence only to those who heard it. His thought was clear rather than rich, forcible rather than subtle ; it was expressed in language which had no special beauty of its own. The printed record of his sermons or his speeches could scarcely tell more to a reader who had never known the living voice than the score of a sonata could convey its moving power to one unskilled in music. But the instrument once heard, the bare notation will suffice to bring back the full sound to memory. Percy could never afterwards read a line of these brief and unadorned utterances without seeing instantly and with the clearness of life the tall spare figure, the chiselled face, with its lofty and remote air, saved from too dominant an austerity by the grace of the slightly stooping head, or without hearing again in every sentence the lingering North-country accent that gave so curious a distinction to the voice, and the unconsciously melancholy cadence that softened its strenuousness with a grave beauty of resignation. . . .

The very phrases, insisted upon again and again, were old and well known ; yet such was the strange pathos of the voice, the dread seraphic intensity of the presence from which they issued, that they seemed, like music itself, to gain rather than lose in meaning by constant repetition.

Speaking of Percival's Clifton sermons Canon Wilson said, when preaching in the College Chapel on the Sunday after his death :

It was his constant effort to lift up the soul of this School above the heavy mists of indifference, sloth, and self-complacency, that always gather over us, so that we might see things in their true light, as we may imagine God Himself to see them. And in his early years, at least, when I knew him best, he was incorrigibly hopeful. He felt human nature to be far more plastic, he believed it to be far more capable of ideals, and of greatness, than most of us did. He looked at such a sight as

is now before me in this Chapel with the thought of the immense store of spiritual and intellectual force here available for the service of God, if only it can be set free from what may smother it. To awaken every one of the young souls before him to their possibilities as children of God, born with the very life of God in them, born to be God's fellow-workers in the creation of a society of high ideals, was not only from the first his aim, but it was his conviction that it was attainable. And his conviction was so strong and so contagious, that he attained it to a degree to which in schools I know no parallel. He made immense demands on human nature, on both masters and boys : nothing seemed too much to ask or give.

He rarely dealt with intellectual difficulties either of the Bible or of Christian doctrine. At that time they were less widely felt, and less defined, than they came to be somewhat later. But along with the foundations of the Christian Faith, he so plainly taught the then less familiar truths of progressive revelation, both of God and of Nature, and of progressive morality and knowledge, that the doubts and difficulties which then, at the Universities and elsewhere, were sweeping young men off their feet, were to his old pupils as to himself no difficulties at all. Clifton boys, I was then told, had little to unlearn. They had a firm grasp of familiar principles, in presence of which many difficulties could not even be stated. When I was appointed in 1879 to succeed him here, a well-known Head of a College in Oxford told me how Cliftonians there seemed to retain and widen their faith, while many others who came up were, as he expressed it, "scattered like a covey of last year's partridges."

Dr. Percival rarely spoke at School dogmatically of the great doctrines of our faith as formulated in past ages by the Church ; and his reticence was sometimes commented on unfavourably. But he was wiser than his critics. "Men reason on the Cross of Christ," he said, "as they stand afar off, and feel none of its power : but not so when they come close and stand before it ; not so when they listen to the witness of the heart, and kneel at the foot of the Cross, and feel its very presence." And somehow his deep sincerity brought his young hearers, even the seemingly careless, into that presence. Some of them long remembered an occasion when his usual reserve gave way, and he spoke freely of "Christ sacrificing Himself for us," and of God's love thus shown. That God Himself, from everlasting to everlasting, was grieved by men's sins and suffered with them, was part of his faith in God ; and it was this faith that moved him so deeply when he taught how "we crucify the Son of God afresh if we are living a bad and sinful life."

He spoke little, it was sometimes remarked, about the Church. And it is true that there is a type of religious teaching in which the Church is dominant, and for this type he had little sympathy. But no one taught more earnestly or more frequently than he did the truth which gives value to timely teaching about the Church. That truth has been expressed by a philosophic writer—Dr. Royce—by saying that “the membership of a divine spiritual community is necessary to the salvation of men.”

That membership, in the case of those whom he taught here, had been first realised in the home ; and loyalty and love to parents and home marked his teaching. And next came loyalty to the School ; and loyalty to the School meant on his lips the mutual moral responsibility of each for all. The School, he felt, is our spiritual community. This is our Church : and through loyalty to the School he illustrated what the Church was in the mind of Christ. He taught how “Christ’s first act was to gather a society round Him in the midst of the common working-day world, and to build up His Kingdom on the foundations of social life.” That building up of the kingdom must be begun in schools. None who knew him could doubt his fervent belief in such a Church, loyal to its Head, as the only means for calling out men’s highest powers in the great world.

His teaching on the Holy Communion was similarly an appeal to motives and faith which the young can truly make their own. It was a *Sacramentum*—a soldier’s act of open, renewed, and joint allegiance to Christ as the Lord of our lives here and now, and the Captain in our ceaseless war with evil.

Some felt his preaching to be cold. There was no action ; little modulation of voice ; no flowers of speech ; careful avoidance of exaggeration. His sermons made demand for close attention : they were not colloquial. But it was shallow criticism that described them as cold. Those who were in tune with him felt the glow of white heat below the quiet delivery.

Percival’s style in preaching to boys varied little from his first sermon on Tuesday, September 30, 1862, when Clifton College was opened, until the end of his life. One sermon, delivered many years afterwards at Rugby, will be given in full at the end of the account of his Headmastership there. His first Clifton sermon was based on the text, “Neither is he that planteth anything, nor he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase.” It bears the marks that were always characteristic of his religious discourses—great

simplicity of diction, an exacting moral demand, intense earnestness, and an intimate association of the thought of Duty with the thought of God. It was a somewhat stoical type of faith that he exhibited and encouraged. But it was well fitted to call forth the strongest and manliest elements in those boys who could answer his appeal. A fine illustration of his manner is afforded by the close of the first sermon which he preached after the opening of the School Chapel ; and it is interesting to compare this utterance to a School still young with the appeal to a great tradition which characterises the sermon at Rugby, printed later in this volume. It was delivered on June 23, 1867 :

“ What house will ye build me ? saith the Lord : or what is the place of my rest ? ” This is the kind of question which the echoes of this Chapel call upon us to answer. It is no small privilege to be the first generation of those who worship in a place like this. It is no mean work which you have an opportunity of doing, you members of this young society. We are only laying our foundations as yet, and just beginning to feel that we have a life of our own. Consider the time when those who fill your places will have a history and a tradition on which to look back ; and consider what you would wish that tradition to be. To-day it is in your hands to make it what you resolve to make it by your own life ; a few years hence and you will have done your work upon it. At the very best I know that the building up of a great school on any sure foundation must be a slow and precarious business ; but I should leave the work in despair if I did not feel that you too are anxious, even as I am, to build us up into an honourable house. Three hundred workers of this generation, if we put our hands to the task with a genuine will, we cannot fail, I think, to grow up into something that deserves to live. But are we thinking of doing this ? It is not enough to wish it and leave it to others. It is your work to do, or it will not be done.

In the quiet and daily round, in the habitual course of our common life, these foundations of the future are being silently laid. The walls of our temple are slowly rising, and what shape are they beginning to assume ? You who know our inner life better than I do, how would you describe it ? What is the name which you see written on this temple of our society which is thus rising and growing ? Is it the temple of the God of heaven or of some other god ? These outward gifts are of no

use if they should be ulcered under with a life that is not worthy of them. To what purpose is this Chapel and its beauty, if we who come to it should prove ourselves unworthy of it?

What if the spirit of idleness should take possession of us? What if you, who are here to-day, should leave, as your inheritance to those who follow you, low or mean notions about truth, or honesty, or manly openness? That the great mass of you should do this I have no sort of fear. It cannot and will not be. But yet this is a time for all of us to consider whether we are giving ourselves, with a true and genuine loyalty, to the building up of a living temple in which the God of truth may be seen to dwell. Is there no petty selfishness, is there no mean-spiritedness, is there no frivolous folly leaving its unseemly mark amongst us, and spoiling the work which we are endeavouring to do? We have it in our hands to-day to take a high place among the schools of England; or I should rather say that it is in the hands of you boys who are sitting before me; and may God inspire you to show yourselves worthy of this high privilege.

"Ye are my witnesses, saith the Lord, and the servants whom I have chosen."

Percival's creative power lay mainly in the department of social organisation. Clifton, as he guided its formative period, was partly an imitation of Rugby, but was also an expression of his own personality. His presence was felt in every department of school life, though, with so brilliant a staff as he had collected, it was possible to leave much of the detail entirely in the hands of his assistants. The following record, given by the Rev. H. C. Watson, affords an impression of his relations with masters:

In the early days of teaching I went to Percival rather than to Clifton. A Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, giving advice to me about a scholastic career, said to me: "You should try and be under Percival or Benson"; and after the lamented death of C. H. Cay, who was Senior of the Mathematical Staff at Clifton, I was appointed at Easter 1870 to his post, which I retained for thirty years. It is impossible for me to express all that I feel I owe to the influence of my old chief during the eight years that I worked with him. It was a great gain to be always in contact with one of his strenuous activity, to be often listening to the suggestions of a leader who was always aiming high. I was never associated with a man

who worked harder, and who talked less about himself. Frequently at the end of term his face and general appearance showed that he had been putting a heavy strain upon himself ; and only the change of good rest, or travel, or Swiss air, sent him back to us fit again for another term's work. The teaching staff at Clifton was young and capable, and he expected them to follow his lead in personal effort. On one occasion I felt obliged, for health's sake, to decline taking a class regularly immediately after a meal, and losing a short walk. I remember his answer, illustrative of his own habits : " You could easily take your exercise another day." Judging from his own vital power, which his long life has shown him to have possessed, he expected to see his own strenuousness reflected in the work of his colleagues ; and he may perhaps have sometimes unduly pressed a willing horse ; but his system was successful, if tested by the atmosphere of vigour and enthusiasm which prevailed. He would often throw out suggestions for the rearrangement of working-schemes, for the improvement of methods, for the raising of tone, and leave it to heads of departments and others to carry them out. To the Sixth Form, acting under his guidance, he gave very ample powers ; but to be efficient leaders, they were led to understand that they were to be prominent in the class and also in the School-close ; and the successful representatives of Clifton in the public services, in the army, and in India, have borne witness to the wisdom of this principle. Percival always assumed that in every competition, by the individual or by the School, there was to be no question of not winning ; that excuses for failure were inadmissible ; and it was this spirit, steadily handed down, which produced such continued success in teaching, in scholarship, in games, and subsequently in service to the Empire. He looked upon disciplinary power as essential for the schoolmaster : no man, however accomplished in science or in classics, could survive on the staff unless he possessed this primary requisite. Woolner's bust, which is in the College Library, shows on one side the genial look which in later years became very attractive ; but on the other side of the face you see an expression of firmness verging on severity ; and he could indeed be severe in look and tone when the occasion called for it. I do not remember ever seeing any outbreak of temper ; but of strong indignation, yes ! As when he would speak to the assembled School, after morning prayers, in words of indignation and contempt, of some base or mean act of an undiscovered culprit, laying bare the enormity of the offence in scathing words which could never be forgotten.

I remember Percival as a man of strong personal convictions. When he made up his mind that a thing should be done, his courage never wavered in carrying it out, and he overcame in the end all that he considered to be unreasonable opposition : hence there were naturally some who strongly objected to what they considered to be autocratic or harsh decisions ; but they were really only the conscientious acts of a just and determined ruler. While never forgetting the stimulating influence of his impressive personality I shall remember thankfully the consideration which he always showed me. I kept for many years a letter of kind appreciation and encouragement which he wrote to me at the end of my second term ; and he was always ready to listen to some suggestion about the mathematical side, or to help in some difficulty connected with one's Boarding House.

Much of Clifton tradition was formed and preserved by means of notices sent round by Dr. Percival through the School Marshal, John Skelton, to be read aloud by each master to his class or set. They were notices affecting the tone, habits, behaviour, health of members of the School, generally suggested by some defect which called for attention. These notices were preserved in a book ; they were subsequently passed in review by a committee ; and those which were selected and arranged were put into the form of a printed memorandum book for distribution to masters and house-masters, for their guidance in Clifton tradition.

None of his Clifton pupils kept up a more intimate relationship with Percival than Sir Herbert Warren, the President of Magdalen. He joined the School in 1868, when just over fifteen years of age. But it was in January 1869, when he got into the Sixth Form, that the daily contact began, from which the lifelong friendship grew. The President writes the following account of his experiences at Clifton under Percival :

I still remember his opening speech to us on the duties and opportunities of the Sixth Form. I was to some extent prepared for it by my early reading of *Tom Brown*, a book of which I had long been fond. But I was still young, and at first I regarded these lofty admonitions and appeals as meant rather for the responsible grandees, for as such I then regarded them, of eighteen and nineteen on the upper bench. At first too I was rather absorbed in my own intellectual development. Gradually, however, repeated as they were from term to term, they gained upon me with an accumulative force.

Let me try to sum up the whole effect of his regime. Dr. Percival was in certain ways, though not in all, a pre-eminently good teacher intellectually as well as morally, and we were fortunate in coming at a time when the Headmaster taught a good deal himself.

Certain authors he obviously enjoyed, and these he taught exceedingly well—the *Speeches of Thucydides*, and *Plato's Republic*, and the *Odes and Satires of Horace*. There were tags in these last of which he was specially fond. One in particular I was amused to notice him quoting again in after years more than once from the Episcopal Bench :

Si quid novisti rectius istis
Candidus imperti, si non his utere mecum.

He had the paramount gift of making us enjoy our lessons. Divinity, the Old Testament on Sunday and the New on Monday morning, was specially interesting. He had a great idea of introducing us to new and suggestive books and to the best commentators. Stanley's *Jewish Church* and *Sinai and Palestine*, Alford on the Gospels, Lightfoot and Vaughan on the Epistles, were perhaps obvious. But he also initiated us into Westcott's *Bible in the Church* and *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, and into the *Psalms by Four Friends*, of which the two last I remember made a distinct mark on my mind. In the same way he took us through Merivale's *Fall of the Roman Republic*, and part of the *History of the Empire*, as well as Sismondi's *Italian Republic*. What was more bold was his using French books to teach us at once French and ideas, Guizot's *Histoire de la civilisation* and Bastiat's *Harmonies économiques*. Looking back, I think perhaps he encouraged us to "spread ourselves" almost too much. In some ways I remember I found the Shilletonian scholarship and precise "pure reason" of Mr. T. W. Dunn, a young philosophic Cambridge classic, a welcome corrective to all this "Oxford Greats" ideology. Yet it was a great thing to be introduced to these various and living interests, and he did his best to make them live for us.

It must be remembered that his own studies had been unusually wide. Beside his double Double Firsts in Classics and Mathematics, he took Honours in History in a few weeks, reading with the great "coach" of those days—Professor Montagu Burrows.

His standard of industry was extremely high. He had a great belief in perpetually adding here a little and there a little, and making one acquainted with the whole range of possible knowledge. Week by week he used to recommend books and

pages of books to be "looked at," and used to leave these volumes in the Sixth Form room for us "to turn over at odd moments." Gradually the pile accumulated till their very mass daunted and defied any attempt to overtake them. He had certain phrases with which, delivered in his North-country accent, we became very familiar and turned into a friendly jest among ourselves. "Dawn't live the life of a cabbage, maan!"

He showed a strong love of poetry. He quoted Wordsworth. I remember his quoting with melancholy *empressement* :

'Twill murmur on a thousand years,
And flaw as now it flaws.

Tennyson, the great living singer of our era, he rather left to our own enthusiasm and that of one or two of the assistant masters who shared it. But I remember his quoting "The Idylls" and "In Memoriam" with evident enjoyment and effect. A phrase of George Eliot, given to the world a little later, about not "debasement the moral currency" exactly suited him, and he often used it at Oxford. His special abhorrence, against which he was always warning us, was what he called "law tawn." There was great excitement among some of us over Swinburne's new metre and other audacities in the 'seventies, and I well remember our surprise at his bringing in the first edition of *Atalanta* in its white cover, and recommending it as the beautiful work of a "somewhat dangerous" writer. I think, though he did not say so, that he may have known him through the Old Mortality Club at Oxford.

His main secret was that he swept us all along, boys and masters together, with a great moral impulse. He caused us to feel that the School had a great future, but that it was young and in the making, and that we were making it along with him. Along with him we were striving to reach some far-off goal. Certain things—the growth of the School in numbers, the addition of new houses, the winning of the first Balliol Scholarship, and the first Cheltenham match, E. F. S. Tylecote's 404 not out, E. J. Davies' "record" in the Broad Jump—were felt to make epochs, to be milestones, or rather "stepping-stones," on which we were "to rise to higher things." "Animer, entraîner, veiller, surveiller reste la première tâche des chefs," were the words of Marshal Foch to General Pétain in a letter written at the crisis of the final 1918 struggle. They exactly express what Percival did as chief at Clifton. His sermons in the College Chapel enforced the same lessons. Week by week they came as a sort of trumpet call. The effect and manner of them have been well described by a Cliftonian of a generation a little junior to my

own—Sir Henry Newbolt. What I chiefly recall are the melancholy *timbre* of his voice, and the vibrant, penetrating, sad earnestness of his utterances. Their appeal seemed irresistibly urgent, like a voice coming from and summoning to another world, yet summoning also to more serious and strenuous effort in this life. There was one sermon in particular on the Agony in the Garden and the slumber of the Disciples, which I shall never forget. "Could ye not watch with me one hour?" "Sleep on now, and take your rest"; "Rise, let us be going"; with a sad tragic insistence, as if charged with a special solemn message, he brought out the awfulness of sloth and failure in a supreme crisis, and of an unique opportunity for ever lost.

It was preached at the end of a Summer Term, and is called in the well-known little volume, "Parting Reminders." Often he seemed to us a strange mixture of strength and weakness. "Who would have thought that this sandy-haired, consumptive-looking young clergyman had so much energy?" an old Bristol magnate is said to have remarked. I think it was the same person who, when he first came to Clifton, thought it his duty to warn him that his experiment had often been tried in Bristol, and that no Bristol school had ever achieved lasting success. We too had an idea that he was delicate, and it was heightened by the spectacle of his cup of beef-tea which used to be taken into his study at eleven o'clock in the morning, and by his frequently weary and drooping looks.

But we knew too that he had plenty of vigour. We saw him galloping on the Downs—he loved a spirited horse—his long figure swaying easily in the saddle. Once I remember a Sixth Form boy, careering downhill on a "bone-shaker" bicycle, nearly ran into him, and made his horse shy right across the road. His revenge the next day, when the rider, who was a science scholar, stuck in his Horace, was to say with a humorous irony, "Now then, B., get mounted and be off." For he had a humour, if it seemed at times rather grim. We were greatly excited when in 1869 Dr. Temple, newly appointed to the Bishopric of Exeter, made him his Examining Chaplain. He was away for a night or two; a rare thing. When he came back he seemed rather tired and more awful than usual. He said, "I thought there couldn't be any worse Latin 'prawse' than yours here; I've learned that there can." On another occasion he took one of our copies and twisted it into a torch with which to light the gas. "I think it'll just do for that," he said. To the last almost we had this awe of him. It was a revelation and a relief to me to find it shared by others in unexpected quarters. All old Cliftonians of the earlier generations

will remember the School Marshal, John Skelton, a tall raw-boned ex-soldier, with a large aquiline nose and luxurious early-Victorian whiskers. He had a North-country "burr" or brogue which was a rougher or more rustic echo of the Headmaster's, and some even went so far as to say that he was a foster-brother or distant cousin whom the chief had imported from their common Cumbrian fells. He was very formidable. When I became Head of the School I found that one of my duties was, along with this great functionary, to present the School Accounts, the statement of the expenditure on games and athletics, for inspection by Dr. Percival, at the end of the Summer Term. We met by appointment in the little passage just outside the study door. The formidable marshal seemed strangely nervous, his face was pale and his gaunt figure seemed almost to tremble. "Aw dawn't loike gawn in with these accoonts," he said to me. "He is always sa dawn upon you." And sure enough, when we got in, the H.M. or J.P., as we called him, at once fastened on a piece of new expenditure—leather shoes I think it was for the horse which drew the roller in the close—and said in an awful voice, "What's this item? It's a new charge, eh?" And then, "It's very easy to spend other people's money."

"I sometimes think you'd 'condawn' any crime," he once said in a somewhat similar mood to the upper bench when something had gone wrong, which we did not realise it was our province to prevent.

Yet gradually, I can honestly say for myself, and I think for our generation, we came by and by not only to respect and admire but more and more to love him. "Praise seldom" was his practice, but when it came the praise was additionally sweet. When he warmed into affection it was like the sudden glow of sunshine on one of the rocky peaks of his native countryside. And we recognised tones of real affection when he spoke, for instance, of the first Head of the School, H. W. Wellesley, grand-nephew of the Duke of Wellington, who went into the I.C.S. and died young in 1878; or of Charles Cay, a delightful young Mathematical Master who fell an early victim to consumption, and whom he buried at Mentone in 1869.

The success of the School, too, seemed to mellow him. His speeches at the Commemoration gatherings became more genial and humorous. The new generation, while admiring him even more, seemed to fear him less. What were the secrets of his success? The greatest, I think, was his power of using all kinds of human tools, and compelling them all to his will. He certainly gathered round him an extraordinary collection of colleagues. His appointments were singularly bold—H. G.

Dakyns, T. E. Brown, E. M. Oakeley, F. Armitage, T. W. Dunn, G. H. Wollaston—some of rare genius since recognised, all men of original force and individual character so strong that it would have seemed impossible to harness them to the dull, limited routine of school life, yet out of each and all of them Percival seemed to compel or conjure original and effective results. Very bold was his appointment of Evelyn Abbott, crippled by paralysis of the lower limbs, “dead from the waist down,” who to many would have seemed an impossible assistant master, but proved a most valuable asset, alike to Clifton and, later, to Balliol. Not less enterprising was his enlisting of the services of John Addington Symonds, a brilliant, young, artistic, aesthetic scholar and critic, a votary of Hellenism and the Renaissance, with the result that the Clifton Sixth Form heard the *Studies of the Greek Poets* before they were given to the world. One Summer Term he got Professor Nichol of Glasgow to lecture to the Sixth on English and Scotch Poetry. From each of them he drew something which only they could give. “Uncovenanted service” was a phrase of which he was fond. He expected an assistant master to work for love as well as for hire. A later, more prosaic generation said that he sweated his assistant masters. *They* did not think so. Like patriots, they found their reward in the success of the School.

In the matter of studies and curriculum he was, especially at first, far in advance of his time. He made provision from the very start of the School for the teaching of Natural Science. Among his very earliest appointments made in September 1862, three years before the date at which Canon Wilson tells us Science was introduced into the school course at Rugby, was that of his first Science Master, Mr. (afterwards Professor) Leipner. Five years later, in 1867, he was able to open the first School Laboratories, then and for long, far in advance of what all but a few schools possessed, and introduced in the next few years a series of distinguished scientific teachers—Dr. Heinrich Debus, an eminent German chemist, afterwards Professor at the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, and no less than four men who in succession became Fellows of the Royal Society, Professor A. W. Reinold, Professor John Perry, Professor (now Sir William) Tilden, and Mr. A. M. Worthington. No Public School in the country at that time, if indeed later, could show anything approaching this series. And yet to these must be added also Mr. M. J. Barrington Ward and Mr. G. H. Wollaston, who, if not so scientifically eminent, were singularly successful in encouraging the studies of Natural History, both Zoology and Botany, and developing the Scientific Society of the School,

which was launched as early as 1869 with an inaugural lecture from Canon Kingsley ; and the School Museum, started in 1871. When Dr. Tilden came on the scene Dr. Percival showed at once his good generalship by making him Head of the Science Department, and giving him the freest possible hand.

The introduction of Natural Science showed singular foresight and courage. Clifton was founded to be one of the "Public Schools," and none of them included it in their curriculum. But Percival determined to give it an important place, and to secure the best possible teachers. Of his success in this department Sir William Tilden, F.R.S., writes : "The world is much indebted to Dr. Percival's insight, for without any knowledge of Natural Science he saw how important some knowledge of that kind was going to be in the days to come." Certainly the names of the Clifton Science Masters in the early period make an impressive list, quite equal in distinction to the galaxy of talent in Classics and in English Literature which Percival brought to the school.

Music was another subject, then usually neglected at Public Schools, which received great attention from Percival. The Clifton music was much helped by Mr. E. M. Oakeley. The Headmaster of a new school, growing as Clifton grew, must have had plenty to think about. But he was always ready to attend to the suggestions of musical reformers. Indeed, it seems that the suggestions were often his own, and he worked them out with the deliberation habitual to him. So it came about that he once wrote to Mr. Oakeley : "I have been thinking about the Sunday evening music ; but thoughts don't always come to anything. So don't indulge hopes." As a matter of fact, the thoughts came to something very practical, and for many years a lecture with music on Sunday evenings was a great institution. On another occasion he sent the suggestion : "Would it not be desirable that all boys in a school who are learning the piano should be classified—not taught together in any way, but counted as belonging to a particular class ? And for each class there should be certain stipulated work term by term ? "

He was greatly interested in the compiling of the School

Hymnal, demanding the exclusion of "sentimental religion" and "sugary tunes," and the choice of such hymns as were likely to be sung by the whole School. In the technical sense he was "unmusical," but his taste was usually that of the most advanced reformers of Church music.

The strain of the first years at Clifton was very great, and Percival did not spare himself. On this subject he received in 1869 a word of warning from Jowett, to whom he had written inquiring about the performance of two Cliftonians in the Balliol Scholarship Examination :

BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD.

DEAR MR. PERCIVAL—I have been careless in not sooner answering your letter about the two Clifton boys. [A report on their work follows.]

Let me speak to you of another matter, respecting which I have long had a mind to write to you. I hear from several persons that you are seriously injuring your health. They tell me that nothing can be better than the success of the College, but they also think that it is quite impossible that you should go on much longer in your present way of working. I have been in this state myself, though not, I think, so badly as you seem to be, and I know quite well that one's first instinct is to rebel against the person who tells you this. The greatest symptom of weakness is the resolute determination to go on. I hope that you will look this in the face and first see how much you can superintend and how little you can do ; drudgery is not the right sort of thing as you get older ; and secondly, that if desirable you will take a six months', or a twelve months', entire holiday. If you put in a good substitute you will find that the impetus will last until you return.—With kind regards, believe me, ever yours truly,

B. JOWETT.

The general scheme of the School organisation was largely adopted from Rugby. In particular, the "Sixth Form system" was introduced ; that is to say, the system by which all members of the Sixth Form are "School Prefects," and no others. But Percival added a demand of his own by enacting that the Head of the School, that is, the senior member of the Sixth, should not only be "Head Prefect" but also of necessity Captain of Football. This led to some curious results. Sometimes the captain was not himself a member of the team, and had to depute nearly all his duties

to a substitute. On one occasion a Head of the School, after the season had run some part of its course, put himself down to play in a School match to the great indignation of the School; for he had achieved no eminence in the game hitherto. But he justified his action by subsequently gaining his Blue and becoming an "International." No doubt Percival's object, when he made this curious arrangement, was to secure that the boys who occupied the chief posts of influence should, in that formative period of the School's life, be boys with whom he came into frequent contact. The requirement concerning the Captain of Football did not long survive his departure, but the Sixth Form system remains.

A Headmaster who presides over the infancy of a school must needs concern himself with every department of its life, and Percival gave much thought to the organisation of the games, into which, at first, it was difficult to infuse the right spirit. Health and circumstance had prevented him from taking any active part in games himself, but he set a high value on them as a factor in education. He encouraged his staff to take part in them, and Clifton learnt Rugby football from H. G. Dakyns, the brilliant scholar and lover of literature, to whom J. A. Symonds dedicated his *Studies of the Greek Poets*. "Clifton," writes Sir Herbert Warren, "early became distinctly an athletic school. The neighbourhood was favourable to this development. Gloucester and Somerset were sporting counties. It was the era of the *dénouement* of the Grace family. Athletic sports at the Zoological Gardens were fashionable. Percival was an advocate of compulsory games and encouraged athletics in reason. He was very careful about keeping them within bounds, about not letting foreign matches encroach on School hours, and so on. But those who remember the Rugby tradition of Tom Brown, and later of Arthur Butler and C. C. Bowen, a hero of Percival's, will not be surprised that he recognised at once what a healthy element they are in school life. What he had a horror of then as later was loafing. He did not play our games himself, though he was very fond of skating and golf, but he encouraged the staff to do so, and he certainly came and looked on in his half-

interested, half-melancholy, abstracted way, brightening up and unbending on the occasion of any special achievement. He very artfully established a School standard that no captain of the Eleven was to go to Oxford or Cambridge without a Scholarship or Exhibition, and he was very proud of the three Tylecote brothers, 'C. B. L.,' 'E. F. S.,' and 'H. G.,' and on one occasion at the Guthrie secured great applause by saying of the then captain of the Oxford Eleven, in the course of his speech, 'I need hardly tell you that Evans is a much greater power at Oxford than any Head of a House.' He went up with Oakeley to stay in London and witness the first match played by Clifton at Lord's against M.C.C. in August 1871, and no one was better pleased than he by the wonderful performance and victory of the School, winning as it did by an innings and 61 runs."

While Percival was securing his hold upon the boys he also drew the parents within his grip. One of his successors learnt rather dramatically the way in which they had been led to submit to the yoke. This later Headmaster was sitting in his study one morning, soon after the beginning of his first term, when a card was brought in bearing the name of one of the leading citizens of Bristol. On entering the room the visitor said, "I have come to ask a favour of you." "Oh," said the Headmaster, "of course I shall be glad to do anything in my power." "Well," replied the visitor, "I have some property in the Isle of Wight and I have to go and look at it. My wife has not been very well lately, and a couple of days in the country would be very good for her. Would you give me leave to take her with me?" "Of course," gasped the Headmaster, "I should be delighted." Inquiry revealed the fact that the visitor was father of one of the day boys, and Percival had made a law that the parents of a day boy were never to be both away from home at once during term-time, except with the knowledge and approval of the Headmaster.

Perhaps such wise and strict regulations had something to do with the preference that Percival always felt, as a result of his experience, for Day Schools over Boarding Schools. He had also secured that the day boys at Clifton should

have a fuller share of corporate life than they usually obtain. Indeed this was one of his chief aims and a main part of his achievement. And his means to this end consisted largely in the enlistment of the parents as school officers charged with enforcing the school rules. His verdict on the day boy system is beyond dispute. In October 1911, when speaking at the prize-giving at the Whitgift School in Croydon, he declared that "his experience at Clifton led him to the conclusion that the best education in English life was not to be had in a boarding school, but was obtained by the boy who lived in a good home and attended a good school near his home—a school well organised, well instructed and of high tone. Many of the most distinguished boys at Clifton were day boys, and their living at home involved no disadvantage. At Clifton they devised a plan whereby all the day boys were allotted to various "houses" with a master in charge.¹ This involved a certain amount of duty on the parents to see that at home the boys observed all the rules of the school just as if they had been boarders there, and that in every respect they were under the same discipline. Under that system, boys who lived in really good homes obtained, perhaps, the best form of education which was to be obtained anywhere in England."

It would appear that Percival had to meet some opposition from the School in his efforts to gain for the day boys what seemed to him their proper place. One old Clifton boy, at any rate, who had passed into the Indian Civil Service, and who was evidently on terms of warm friendship with the Headmaster, wrote from Mysore a letter containing this passage, after much jubilation at recent successes of the Cricket XI.:

I hope what my brother tells me is only juvenile bumptiousness, viz. that "a fearful lot of snobs" are coming into the school. I don't think a school can be too exclusive. As the Indian phrase is "pucka" gentlemen only ought to be admitted, and the parents ought to be "quite the topping people of the

¹ This does not mean that day boys were attached to Boarding Houses; they were themselves divided into two groups, called Houses—North Town and South Town—which took rank for school purposes with the Boarding Houses and had each a master in charge.

place." I fancy the drawback to Clifton will always be the large numbers of town boys, who inflate the school to an enormous size, while they don't add to its prestige in games and studies—the rubbish which daily pours out of semi-detached villas with comforters round its neck, three-cornered notes in its pocket, and querulous mamas and papas who each want a master to themselves in the background. But I am very likely wrong, and if so, please pardon my free-spokenness.

Certainly the education provided at Clifton under Percival was in no way inferior to the best obtainable. For seventeen years he worked at his task as architect of a school's greatness. The record of that period is astonishing: fifty scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge; forty admissions to Woolwich and Sandhurst; twelve to the Indian Civil Service. It is questionable whether any other school has such a record to show of the first seventeen years of its existence. One conspicuously successful achievement was the passing of boys direct from school into the Army without cramming. Among Percival's pupils who were afterwards distinguished soldiers must be mentioned Lord Haig and Sir William Birdwood.

But Percival was not content with success in the School as an isolated institution. He was active in many ways in promoting the general welfare of the city in whose neighbourhood the School was planted. Into these wider interests Percival sought to carry the boys as a part of their own training in citizenship as well as for the sake of the town. He started the first school mission, as that term is generally understood. On this subject Canon Wilson writes:

I have always understood that among Public Schools Uppingham, under Thring, was the first to attempt to interest itself in the work of poor parishes in great cities. I seem to recall that Thring used to send annually some £50 from school collections to the vicar of a poor East End London parish.

Percival, however, had a great city close at hand; and besides his wish to interest the school in the religious, social, and material welfare of Bristol, he aimed at establishing some link by which personal acquaintance and mutual respect might grow up between givers and receivers to the advantage of both. As early as 1869 the College started and supported a "ragged

school," as it was then called, in the Dings of Bristol. This was closed about five years later, as the opening of a Board School rendered it unnecessary. Then, in 1875, the new idea was suggested by Percival that the College should assist the Vicar of some large city parish in advancing the welfare of some special district within it. A committee of masters and boys approved; the parish selected was St. Barnabas; and early in 1876 Mr. Rawnsley entered on his work as Clifton College missionary in the Newfoundland Road district.

Percival talked the whole matter over with me before he left. He was, however, disappointed with the results. It was, as he said, one of the problems he left unsolved. But I think there is no doubt that the original conception of a school acting as "Big Brother" to a poor city district is due to Percival.

His aims for the Mission at the outset are outlined in two letters to Mr. Furneaux, to whom he turned in the first instance in the hope that he might consent to be the first missionary:

THE COLLEGE,
CLIFTON, BRISTOL,
Feb. 12, 1875.

MY DEAR FURNEAUX—I am going to trouble you with a few lines which I hope you will not consider it loss of time to think over. We have had in Bristol for some little time a Mission clergyman working under the Bishop, and supported by the Church Aid Fund. Experience seems to show that a good man has a field of usefulness open to him in such a work; and we have been considering lately whether we could support such a missionary as the College contribution to this work. If we had a prospect of getting the right man, I have no doubt we could support him quite easily, but everything in such a case, where the work requires an unusual combination of gifts and graces, and is as yet experimental, must depend on the fitness of the agent. My own thought at once was that if you should be thinking of ministerial work, and felt a call to such a work as this, all my desires in that respect would be fulfilled.

I hope you won't dismiss the matter without some thought.

The field of work is one which requires a man of thorough devotion, fearless, strong, conciliatory, independent.

If you were to undertake it I should ask you to come and preach to the school about once a month, and perhaps give your experiences in other ways, so as to keep the work constantly before the minds of all of us; and God knows we all

require to be reminded of many things which the other end of Bristol has for our learning. If you should wish, or be willing, to add to this a little work with my Sixth, say four or five hours a week, taken on two days out of the six so as to have the others free, I should of course be delighted : but you will understand that it is the spiritual mission of which I am specially thinking.

Possibly you may say that if you take to ministerial work, you feel it must be under the immediate direction of some older man ; but I should not feel that as one of the things you need ; and to a man who has a call upon him, the sense of a special mission is worth a great deal of human guidance.

Yours sincerely,

J. PERCIVAL.

THE PALACE, EXETER,
Feb. 20, 1875.

MY DEAR FURNEAUX—I was not surprised at your decision, though your conception of the work to be done, and your feeling of your own unfitness to my mind prove your qualifications—and after all, our fitness is relative to that of other instruments.

I can't recall any part of the work which the circumstances of my life have led me to attempt for which I did not feel my want of fitness. In fact, I could prove it now on very reasonable grounds.

I am here for the Ordination.¹—Yours affectionately,

J. PERCIVAL.

There can be no doubt about the earnestness of Percival's feeling with regard to the Mission and the problem with which it brought the School into contact. Many years later, at the inaugural meeting of the Rugby School Mission, he told the school there how at Clifton he " would stand out on the Downs in the stillness of the night and hear the subdued murmur of the city down below—' the still sad music of humanity.' "

His efforts for social reform were not confined to Bristol. In 1865 he had been much distressed by the Registrar-General's return of illegitimate births in Westmoreland and Cumberland. He wrote to George Moore, at whose house near Carlisle, called Whitehall, he and Mrs. Percival were frequent guests, and Moore sent the letter to *The Times*.

Samuel Smiles tells the story in his *Life of George Moore* : ²

¹ He was Examining Chaplain to Bishop Temple at Exeter and afterwards in London.

² P. 142.

A great stir was roused in 1865, by a letter addressed by Dr. Percival of Clifton College to George Moore, on the morality, or rather the immorality, of Cumberland and Westmoreland. Dr. Percival was himself a Westmoreland man, and, like George Moore, was an ardent admirer of his native county. Yet here was a blot upon the morality of both counties, revealed by the Registrar-General's returns, which he thought ought to be obliterated. Eleven out of every hundred children born in Cumberland and Westmoreland were illegitimate. *The Times* published the letter, and followed it up with a leading article on the Modern Arcadians of Cumberland. "How is the matter to be remedied?" said the writer. "We know of no agency capable of reaching it except publicity. Let it be clearly understood and widely made known that the labours of clergymen, schoolmasters, and scripture readers are thwarted and defeated by conditions of life in these counties which ought to be curable."

The following is from George Moore's diary: "Had three hours' talk with Mr. H—— as to illegitimacy. I find that he does not like my doings. Still he was kind and sensible. He said I had raised the anger of some of the upper ten thousand. He believed that if I persevered, I should lose my political influence. This I am prepared to lose. *Excelsior!* must be my motto." In the midst of these inquiries Mr. Moore went to Carlisle to see the hiring fair. "I was shocked," he says, "to see men and women bought like sheep in a market, and engaged without knowledge, or references, or character."

Numerous letters appeared in the local newspapers. The subject was taken up at the conference of the Evangelical Union at Keswick. George Moore was blamed for publishing Dr. Percival's letter, and for throwing dirt upon Cumberland and Westmoreland."

In November 1876, George Moore was most anxious to make it possible for clever poor boys to get higher education. He consulted many people of high educational authority. Samuel Smiles says on p. 224:

It was, however, to Dr. Percival, headmaster of Clifton College, that Mr. Moore owed the working out of a practicable plan. Dr. Percival's early life, his distinguished honours, and the high position he occupied in the educational world, enabled him to ascertain the weak places and the difficulties of the proposed scheme, and how the money endowed might prove of the best possible use. At length, after much time and pains

had been given, and many consultations and meetings had been held—after Dr. Temple, Bishop of Exeter, had been consulted and given his advice freely and fully—the plan was at length determined on. It was drawn up in a rough draft by the Education Department and printed. All that was wanted was the final settlement and George Moore's signature. Twelve thousand pounds was the amount of money which he had set apart for the purpose. And thus the matter rested.

On November 20th, George Moore asked his wife to write to Percival. He said: "Ask him to arrange for a meeting next week. I must have one more reading of that scheme, then we can get it fairly launched." A few hours later he was killed in the streets of Carlisle by a runaway horse. The scheme was launched, but as a memorial to him by a great multitude of friends.

Before his death Moore's friendship for Percival had expressed itself in an enduring form.

"Early that year (1876)," writes Mrs. Johnson, the Bishop's daughter, "George Moore told my mother that he wanted to give her a portrait of my father, by G. F. Watts. He was then sitting to Watts for his own portrait, and he asked him to undertake the commission. Watts refused, saying that he liked to choose his own subjects and did not wish to paint a schoolmaster. George Moore, determined to get his own way, sent my father a telegram—"Come to us to-night: most important." Father, thinking that something was seriously wrong, went up from Clifton to George Moore's house in Palace Gardens, to find a large evening party in full swing. Watts was there, and as father came into the room, Watts rushed up to George Moore, "Who is that man? I must paint his portrait." "That is my schoolmaster," said George Moore, "and you shall have the cheque for the portrait to-night."

"The cheque, for £500, was sent to Watts, and the day my father went up for the first sitting was the day he heard that George Moore had been killed. It was a terrible blow to him and to Watts, and the portrait has the sad expression that Watts saw that first day. It was a beautiful painting. (To my great joy I was allowed to go and watch it being painted.)

"It was hung in the Royal Academy next to a man in a scarlet gown which made father's portrait yellow, so Watts repainted it as it hung, and when my father and mother came up for the Private View, Watts met them and forbade them to

look at it, saying he had quite spoilt it. He had it back and painted it again. It was four years before we got it, and it was never as good a portrait as when first finished."

Percival never rested on his oars ; he was always looking out for opportunities of improvement. Towards the end of his time at Clifton he inaugurated the Jewish House. He was gravely dissatisfied with the method that scattered Jewish boys through the other houses, cut off from any facilities for their own observances. So in 1878, after consultation with Mr. Montefiore and Mr. Mundella, he opened a special House for them with ten boys. It has several times been enlarged and is now the same size as the other Houses. This was the first experiment of its kind, but several schools have since then followed Clifton's example.

The seventeen years' reign at Clifton was twice in danger of interruption. At the end of 1869, Dr. Temple left Rugby for the See of Exeter, and Percival was a candidate for the vacant Headmastership. Temple greatly desired his appointment. But the fact that he was "one of Temple's men" was enough to secure his rejection at the hands of the still unreformed body of Trustees, who chose Dr. Hayman because he was the only indisputable Conservative who came forward. How this event was regarded in Bristol and Clifton is seen in the following letter from Canon Girdlestone :

CANON'S HOUSE, BRISTOL,
Nov. 25, 1869.

DEAR MRS. PERCIVAL— . . . Bristol and Clifton in general, and we in particular, are rejoiced to think that you are not going to run away from us, and we hope that your remaining here may in the end prove as advantageous to you as it must be to us. As for Rugby, one almost sees its now long-continued, bright-shining sun setting in clouds of conservative haze and High Church incense.—With much kind regards, I am, very faithfully yours,

E. GIRDLESTONE.

Hayman's rule at Rugby was disastrous. Rightly or wrongly a group of masters came to the conclusion that it was desirable to precipitate a crisis ; they formed an organised

resistance ; the school went literally to pieces ; numbers rapidly fell ; and after four years the reformed Governing Body dismissed Hayman. There was an immense controversy, with bitterly contested law-suits. 'But the right of the Governors to dismiss the Headmaster was upheld, and Disraeli presented Hayman to the Crown living of Aldingham in the diocese of Carlisle "in recognition of his services to Homeric learning."'¹

Percival was this time strongly pressed to stand. The senior Rugby master, Mr. C. T. Arnold, urged it almost with passion. But Percival hesitated. One of the candidates was Dr. Jex Blake, on whose invitation Percival had first gone to Rugby, and against whom he was unwilling to compete. The Bishop of Exeter expressed himself vigorously on this point :

EXETER,
January 4, 1874.

MY DEAR PERCIVAL—It never seems to me to be right to let considerations of personal friendship interfere with public conduct. A man may be justified in saying that he will not be a competitor against his own brother or against his own father. But it is not just to public interests to allow considerations of this nature to go beyond the very narrowest limits. A man's competition can do no harm whatever to his friend unless, in the opinion of those who are appointed to judge, and who may be presumed to be in the right and nine times out of ten will be in the right, he is a better man than his friend. And if he is a better man he has no right to rob the public of his services.

And to this is to be added that even if he stand aside, there may be nevertheless a better man than his friend, though inferior to himself, in the competition. And in this case (not at all an unlikely case) he has robbed the public and positively hurt his friend by exhibiting the fact that he is not only not first, but not even second.

And all this is tenfold more true in the case of Rugby, which is really damaged by narrowing the field of choice of Headmasters just now. There are plenty to say : "Men will not come forward because the governing body behaved so ill, because the assistant masters are ungovernable, because the school is hopeless, because

¹ He had published an edition of part of the *Odyssey*, which receives honourable mention in J. B. Mayor's *Guide to the Choice of Classical Books*.

it is a duty to protest against Hayman's dismissal." If any think like this let them stand aloof. But at this crisis every true friend of education and of high principle in school government ought to offer to take charge of Rugby, if he be able to offer.

Jex Blake mentioned you to me ; but so did several others ; and most certainly if he had never been at Rugby that would have made no difference in your coming. I have not the slightest notion how the election will go. There is a talk of Bradley. There is a talk of a School Inspector called Sharpe. And a few others will turn up.

But if I were in your place at such a crisis I should stand, even if I were certain to be beaten, and if my dearest friend were standing too.—Yours affectionately,

F. EXON.

With what eagerness the matter was watched from the Palace at Exeter is made clear by the following letters written to Mrs. Percival by Miss Temple, the Bishop's sister :

THE PALACE, EXETER,
December 21.

MY DEAR MRS. PERCIVAL—So it has come at last,¹ and I must be thankful for the School and Masters and for the Bishop that the weary battle is over, and yet to make us quite happy we must want to hear that the wretched man has something given him to do. And now will my best dream come true, and shall I live to see Mr. Percival in my brother's place, doing more than he had to do, helping all with calm, quiet wisdom to forget the past and lead a new life ? And how I shall like to think of (nay, I hope to see you) cheering them all with all your warm, affectionate, loving way. I feel as if I wanted to see you to express half of what I feel about it. I do long to have you both there so intensely. My love to the children and a happy Christmas to you all.—Ever, dear Mrs. Percival, yours most affectionately,

J. O. TEMPLE.

THE PALACE, EXETER,
December 24.

MY DEAR MRS. PERCIVAL—No. I feel even if such a misfortune again befell us, as that Mr. Percival was not elected, still I do most earnestly desire that he should lead the forlorn hope to the rescue ; that he should show that he at least did

¹ Dr. Hayman's dismissal.

not think it impossible that the old noble traditions should be revived and was willing to try. I do so want Rugby men to feel proud of their school, and the very fact of his standing will help them. The circumstances are so exceptional that I believe even his own school would consent that he should offer to do a work so very few could do at all, much less as he can. Dear Mrs. Percival, do not keep him back; just because he is your very best give him to this work and do not let the idea of rejection weigh with you, but rather say go; if you are not taken you will have done your part.

I say all this, and yet I cannot in my own heart believe but that if he stands he will be elected. Many happy Christmasses to you both.—Ever yours most affectionately,

J. O. TEMPLE.

THE PALACE, EXETER,
January 8.

MY DEAR MRS. PERCIVAL—I am so thankful Mr. Percival is going to stand, and yet I feel as if we had sacrificed our best friend for Rugby, and can only repeat to myself that whether he is elected or not, it was the noblest part to stand.

Dr. Hayman and his friends will be sure to attack him as the friend of the Bishop and call it a plot.

I have not a shadow of doubt as to the absolute recovery of Rugby if he is elected, but it is impossible to foresee what a Board will do, and the newspapers have been so taking for granted that he was going to Rugby that some of the governing body may be put into antagonistic feeling towards him. Still I shall try and hope. . . .—Ever yours most affectionately,

J. O. TEMPLE.

During this anxious period the Council of Clifton College wrote to express their sense of the value of the Headmaster's services and of what they hoped from them if they were not too soon interrupted.

CLIFTON COLLEGE COMPANY, LIMITED,
SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
THE COLLEGE, CLIFTON,
Jan. 5, 1874.

Private and Confidential.

DEAR SIR—Although we are sure that you cannot fail to be aware of the great value in which your services as Headmaster of the College are held by this Council, we think it right at this time to endeavour again to express to you how warmly we feel on this subject.

For some time past every succeeding year has been marked with a success for the College which has excited the admiration not only of all interested in the institution, but of the scholastic world, and elicited from those best qualified to judge, expressions of astonishment at the brilliant achievements which your ability and indefatigable exertions have found means so quickly to attain. In fine, under your rule the College is fast taking root as a great Public School, and we state with confidence our belief that in a very few years, under your guidance, it will take rank as a permanent institution.

Under these circumstances we cannot as a Council thank you too much for your exertions in the past, or express too earnestly our hopes that they will still be given to us in the future.

We venture to suggest to you that the building up of an English Public School is no unworthy object of a high ambition, and that, fair as the prospects of the College now are, a change of the Headmaster must be a source of grave anxiety and peril to so young an institution ; pardon us if we add our belief that your stay with us a few short years will suffice for you to gratify that ambition and to avoid that peril.

In endeavouring to set before you in the strongest manner our estimation of your services to the College, and the importance we attach to them, we are acting in the simple discharge of our duty, but we should fail to do justice to ourselves if we did not say that it affords us the greatest pleasure, individually and collectively, thus to express ourselves to one whom we all regard personally with such warm sentiments of esteem.—I remain, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

On behalf of the Council,

JAMES HEYWORTH, *Chairman.*

The election took place on February 19. Percival had gone to London to be interviewed by the Governors. Soon after mid-day he telegraphed to Mrs. Percival :

Jex Blake is elected. Don't be disappointed, as you know I am not. Expect me by train due eight fifteen.

At Exeter the disappointment was bitter.

THE PALACE, EXETER,
February 19.

MY DEAR MRS. PERCIVAL—I wrote to you this afternoon, went out to make a call, and came home to find the telegram.

Alas, it does seem too hard that he should try twice and be passed over. I can only comfort myself by thinking that he would have been pained, when it lay absolutely between himself and Dr. Jex Blake, to have got what the other so intensely longed for.

Dear Mrs. Percival, I cannot retract what I said ; better go and fail than not at such a time go in at all ; and yet now I feel as if we had indeed sacrificed our best friend.

Please write to me. My best love to you both.—Ever yours affectionately,
J. O. TEMPLE.

EXETER,
Feb. 20, 1874.

MY DEAR PERCIVAL—I am mortified and sorry, and also feel as if you had a right to complain of me. Yet I confess I did very much wish you to stand for the sake of Rugby, and not only for the chance of success. The voting was 7 to 5. How each voted I have no right, and indeed in some degree no power, to say.

You suffered in some measure by the accident of not having been known to great folk, such as the Archbishop of Canterbury, but still more because you were a candidate last time. It was felt that to elect a man now instead of Hayman, to whom Hayman had been preferred some years ago, was a kind of slap to the Trustees. This I had not at all foreseen.

You are quite at liberty to say that the voting was nearly even and that I told you so, or Mrs. Percival may say so to any one. This perhaps may sooth your Council or your colleagues if they are disposed to be angry with us and to think that we have snubbed them. . . .—Yours affectionately,

F. EXON.

At Rugby also there were some at least who were sorely disappointed.

SCHOOL FIELD, RUGBY,
Feb. 19, '74.

MY DEAR PERCIVAL—A deep feeling of disappointment has fallen, I fear, on all here—and this, I think, that you should know, that every one I believe of our community felt that you could best do what was needed in this time of trial ; and I am sure that every one is grateful to you for coming forward.

It's the more necessary to say this now, because Jex Blake having been elected it becomes the duty of every one who cares for Rugby at all to be unanimous in forgetting this last four

years of dark trial, and especially for all working here to allow no feeling of any kind to interfere for one moment with his spirit of self forgetfulness and devotion to work, with eyes fixed on the future as the only hope of forgetting a miserable past. Neither you nor Jex Blake, nor any one else can know the blackness of that time as I know it ; and it will be long, if ever, before I can get rid of the seared feeling of this frightful time—and yet personally it has not pressed on me. All that can be done is to bury it and to let no thought rest on it.

Selfishly, it is a matter of rejoicing to me that Ernest does not lose your friendly guidance. . . .—Ever most sincerely yours,

C. T. ARNOLD.

The Master of Balliol was an interested spectator of these events.

BALLIOL COLLEGE,
Dec. 21.

DEAR MR. PERCIVAL . . . Are you going to become a candidate for Rugby ? You would be almost certain of succeeding. But is it worth while to leave an institution which you have created, and a place in which you have so great an influence, to undertake the revival of Rugby ? Young trees only should be transplanted.—Yours most truly,

B. JOWETT.

BALLIOL COLLEGE,
Feb. 22.

DEAR MR. PERCIVAL—Many thanks for your telegram. I am both sorry and glad that you are not Headmaster of Rugby : sorry, because this result may be a disappointment to you. But glad for selfish reasons, and also because I believe that your present position is better for you, and really one of greater distinction. As to being beaten by another man I do not think that of any consequence. From what I hear you must have lost the election almost by accident and not on any question of comparative merit.—With kind regards to Mrs. Percival, believe me, my dear Percival, yours most truly,

B. JOWETT.

BALLIOL COLLEGE,
March 15, 1874.

DEAR MR. PERCIVAL—I meant to have written long ago to thank you for your kind note. I am sure that it is better for

you to remain at Clifton, and that you have been saved from a great deal of pain in leaving it. Though I think that you would have succeeded at Rugby, I do not think that you could really have succeeded so well or have done so much as you will at Clifton in a few years time. And when you are tired of Clifton or find the work too much for your strength, if you are not translated to a higher world, you must come back to Oxford as Provost of Queen's. These headships of colleges, although not very distinguished positions, are good places in which to grow old. . . .

With best regards to Mrs. Percival, I remain, my dear Percival, yours most truly,

B. JOWETT.

Whatever the feelings may have been elsewhere, Clifton was jubilant. T. E. Brown had signed on behalf of the Assistant Masters a glowing testimonial to his chief. Now he wrote :

MY DEAR MRS. PERCIVAL—We've had enough and more than enough of this Rugby. Let us turn our backs upon it. But let me at the same time take the opportunity of saying how intensely I feel bound to devote all that is within me to making Clifton worthy of your husband.

Now to Prep !—Ever yours,

T. E. BROWN.

Other letters expressed the same feelings :

CLIFTON COLLEGE.

DEAR MRS. PERCIVAL—The present rejoicings—which are by this time both deep and general, now that one's first indignation at our defeat is past—extend to every corner of every department of our life, and amongst other things which have been put into tune may be counted the piano in Big School, whose first desire is now to accompany you in the Bugle song, by way of allegory, as feeling in every nerve, from shivering A in alt to grumpiest bottom D ; what a loss we have been on the brink of. The Piano (if I may be permitted to speak as its representative), " feeling so deeply as it does the musical possibilities of the place now that you and Mr. Percival are to stay with us"—but here the emotion of the instrument interrupts me—[but as far as I can gather it intends to challenge the thing that calls itself an organ, now resident in the Big school at Rugby, to an open competition on the earliest opportunity] . . . but not if I had an hundred Big School pianos could I express

in measured language at present all that I feel : the season is one of throwing up of caps and other outward and visible signs of jubilation. Mr. Brown, alone of men, was enabled by his genius to light up language of the requisite strength yesterday. It certainly did one good to hear him.

I began this note merely intending to ask you to try the Bugle song after Choral on Saturday ? Then the pen took the bit in its mouth.—Yours ever,

E. M. OAKELEY.

The boys were not behindhand in their expression of satisfaction ; the Sixth Form passed the following resolution :

Feb. 20, 1874.

With reference to the result of the election for the Headmastership of Rugby, it was resolved :

That the VIth wish to express to Mr. Percival that, while they are far too proud of him not to regret deeply that he has suffered a disappointment, they have not words to tell their thankfulness that he is saved to Clifton and themselves individually, bound to him as they are by ties of respect and affection, the strength of which perhaps they never fully realised till they seemed about to lose him.

The feelings of friends in Clifton may be represented by a note from Mrs. Fox to Mrs. Percival :

I neither know this name nor do I care to know it. Thankful as far as this place is concerned—disgusted at all else except that we keep you *both* here.

I have been hanging about the close to-day hoping to catch news of this and the Balliol.

JANE FOX.

The relief and joy at Clifton soon found expression in a more permanent form. The following letter was circulated to all old members and friends of the School :

CLIFTON COLLEGE,
March 6, 1874.

At two meetings held immediately after the Rugby election, it was agreed by boys and masters, severally and independently, that an attempt should be made to commemorate a happy crisis in the history of the School.

Had Dr. Percival gone, doubtless the moment would have been seized as a fitting one at which to record in some symbol our deep and grateful affection towards him, whose spirit alone would have been left. To-day—regret may well be merged in gladness, and gratitude in self-congratulation; but the occasion, it is felt, is no less suitable to give some practical and appropriate expression to the common feeling.

Among the various forms in which such a sentiment might aptly manifest itself, none has seemed more happy than that for which we now beg to ask your aid and sympathy.

The idea proposed is to complete the north wing of the quadrangle by adding a Museum to the half already built, at a cost of about £1500.

This sum we feel sure can, by united effort, be easily raised; and the whole edifice will rightly be named the "*Percival Library and Museum*," the earlier half of that building forming his own gift four years ago, the latter given in his honour at the present time.

Enough perhaps has been said to make clear the history and intent of the proposed scheme; but in a circular like this we feel we may be allowed to add a warmer word. Clifton to-day has not only experienced a crisis, but attained to a point of consciously-realised growth. She begins—with modest pride indeed as befits her youth, yet confidently—to rank herself among the great schools. If she is young, she is also strong and full of strenuous ambition: and what the patriotism of Eton and Rugby, Harrow and Marlborough, have repeatedly achieved, Clifton may surely emulate.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

T. E. BROWN, *Chairman*.

For five more years Percival ruled at Clifton to the great benefit of the School. But the strain was too great. He was scarcely ever alone; the masters turned to him for everything. During his last three years at Clifton he had terrible nightmares and his wife was very anxious about him. In 1879 he was asked to accept the Presidency of Trinity College, Oxford; and he decided to go. The news came to the School with a great shock. At Clifton, as afterwards at Rugby, the confidence in him was of that absolute kind which made the mere conception of his absence unthinkable. By a kind of instinct those who were under him at either School, whether as boys or masters, agree in expressing their

feelings in the words : " We regarded him as one of the laws of nature." It was only when the fact of his imminent departure had to be faced that the latent love for him rose above the threshold of consciousness. Canon Wilson describes his own impressions of Percival's grounds for the change in the following memories of conversations with Percival at the time :

It was a great surprise and shock to nearly the whole of the staff of Clifton College when Percival announced his intention of resigning the Headmastership and becoming President of Trinity College, Oxford. I do not know with any fulness or certainty what were his reasons for this great change. They were plainly not financial. My recollection of conversations with him at Clifton at that time may throw some light on his motives.

First I should place his sense that Oxford needed a new impulse at that time. He felt it to be out of touch with the newer desires for education as manifested by the local University Colleges springing up everywhere. Bristol University College, which owed much to his initiative, was indeed warmly supported by Jowett, H. J. S. Smith, and George of New College. But he thought that he could do something more for this movement if he were at Oxford.

In other matters too he was anxious to see new influences at Oxford. He wished, for example, to see boys of seventeen going up to the University, instead of waiting at school till they were nineteen. And I think he felt that fresh impulses towards intellectual life and research, and towards a greater sense of religious and moral and political leadership of the nation, were needed at Oxford. He hoped, in a word, that the same sort of unity of ideal could be impressed upon the University that he had seen springing up at Clifton.

Such is the general impression left by our conversations at that time ; and my recollection is borne out by a very distinct memory of later conversations with him after experience at Oxford of its immobility and lack of unity. I remember his saying that " Oxford had as much feeling of unity as a rabbit warren ; each Head of a College was seen at the mouth of his burrow ; but if anything was suggested, in he dived." He was disappointed with Oxford, though not with his College. Such were, however, I think, the high hopes which moved him to accept the Presidentship of Trinity College, Oxford.

But I gathered also that he felt the strain and anxiety of his

post at Clifton; he wanted a change. And he told me quite frankly that there were some matters through which he had not seen his way, and that he hoped I might contribute some new light on them. It may be of some interest if I put down here explicitly what those matters were. They had all arisen from the unprecedented rapidity with which the School had grown to numbers far beyond those which were originally contemplated.

New class-rooms were urgently wanted. Let any one who knows the College try to picture how 600 boys were taught, and taught well, when there was no eastern side to the quadrangle and no Tower; when their site was a botanic garden, and there were no buildings east of the Percival library, except some wooden sheds, the racquet and fives courts, the baths, and the Junior School. How did we manage? I cannot say. But we did.

And where was the money to come from? This was the immediate need. The College was heavily burdened with borrowed money. Then there was the pressing need of more land. We at that time did not own a yard of land outside the close. Our cricket was absolutely first-rate; but the close was dangerously, even impossibly crowded.

And there was the problem of promotion for masters. There was a staff of forty; but the few seniors had the boarding houses, and all alike were young. What chance was there for a young man of rising to a well-paid post?

The modern side offered another unsolved problem. He had staffed it with first-rate men, such as Brown and Grenfell and Tait. But it had disappointed him. It had become a refuge for the less cultivated and the less capable. There was no goal such as the University put before it. It had become the home of the unambitious, the unliterary, the stagnant. All their lessons, except the Sunday Old Testament lesson of the Sixth, were taken apart from the classical side; it had become a school side by side with another and a better school. It was developing a different tone. It was a disappointment. That was one of the problems which in our talks he bequeathed to me.

And there was the School Mission. Percival had set it on foot, and he had been much disappointed in it. The first two curates whom he had placed successively in charge of the selected district, as curates under the Vicar of a large Bristol parish, had resigned in despair; and no one could be found to take up the post. Our Mission had dwindled to the support of a coffee-house that did not pay.

More and more I felt as we talked over such questions as these, and the financial problems connected with the School and its obligations, that Percival felt too tired to face them with the freshness which he felt they needed. His instinct demanded a change of scene and a new sort of work. In fact he not only wished to go to Oxford, but deeply as he loved Clifton he felt it to be a relief to leave it.

To his old friend, Sir James Whitehead, Percival wrote :

CLIFTON,
October 28.

MY DEAR WHITEHEAD—Please accept my very best thanks for your kind note. I am sorry to think that I shall not see your two boys through their school time, but I may hope to renew my acquaintance with one or other of them perhaps at Oxford, and I can say that they are pretty certain to get some one in my place at Clifton who will do well by them.

It has been rather a difficult question for me to decide, and the offer was so unexpected that I had to decide it all at once. I hope I have done right, though it involves amongst other things becoming a comparatively poor man ; and I have not paid sufficient attention to saving for my children hitherto.—Yours sincerely,

J. PERCIVAL.

One of the attractions which Oxford offered was the opportunity of affording a centre for the Old Cliftonians at the University. Among those who wrote to express their mingled feelings—sorrow for Clifton's loss and joy for Oxford's gain—was Sir Herbert Warren, who had been elected Fellow of Magdalen in 1877 and Tutor in 1878. To him Percival replied :

CLIFTON COLLEGE,
CLIFTON, BRISTOL,
Nov. 9, 1878.

MY DEAR WARREN—I hardly know how to thank you for your most welcome letter, and that is mainly why I have let two or three days pass. In fact, it's useless for me to attempt to talk about it. I have not received, nor do I expect to receive, any letter to touch me in the same way as yours.

As regards Clifton, I hope that the change may really bring good to the School. In some ways I have been long enough here, and if the right man comes he may bring fresh life, though I

need not say that I feel some anxiety ; for I am conscious that we have acquired a certain character among schools, difficult to define, and yet distinctly appreciable, which I desire to see growing and deepening ; and I should feel it bitterly if by any mischance this should get lost, and it is one of those subtle things that may go, one scarcely knows how. But I am sanguine enough to hope that all that is best in the place is well rooted, and that new roots will be struck.

And it will be pleasant to be able to do something towards making a centre for Old Cliftonians at Oxford, and to see you and others more frequently and freely ; whilst at Trinity I hope I may be of some service, when I get settled there.

I am particularly thankful on account of the quiet for Mrs. Percival, as she is not strong enough for the life here.

The Council will not let me go entirely till after Easter, though I shall reside in Oxford a good deal meanwhile. I am hoping to go up next Tuesday and to stay till Friday, so that I shall very likely see you.—Yours very sincerely,

J. PERCIVAL.

“ If the right man comes.” That was the one great anxiety. Percival had no doubt about his own desires. He wished to be succeeded by a man whom he had known at Rugby many years before, and in company with whom and with Arthur Butler he had walked from Lucerne to Engelberg and Meiringen in the July of 1862, when Butler was about to launch Haileybury and he himself was about to launch Clifton on their great careers. The story shall be told in Canon Wilson’s words :

I stayed at the School House with Mr. and Mrs. Percival for a few days, and helped to get their home in order. My chief share was hanging their pictures. After this we seldom met, and rarely corresponded during the seventeen years of his Headmastership, so that I was entirely taken by surprise in the autumn of 1878, when he asked me to let him put my name before the Governors of the College as his possible successor. In that summer I had had a great sorrow and shock ; and felt unable to continue school work. I had arranged to resign my Mastership at Rugby, and Temple, then Bishop of Exeter, was to ordain me at Christmas for work in his diocese. I refused to entertain the thought of Clifton. Percival, however, pressed me hard to come and see him and the masters and Governors, and reconsider my decision. So also did Temple. And

T. E. Brown, my still older friend and school-fellow, wrote me a long letter of masterly analysis of the whole situation, and very warm appreciation, not without criticism, of Percival. To my great regret that letter has been lost in some of my moves. I can only recall one passage and that but imperfectly. I cannot do justice to Brown's vivid picture. "Percival," he wrote, "was like an inspired demonic conductor of an orchestra. He has lashed us into Bacchic fury,—wind and strings and voices—*forte, forte, fortissimo*. At the end of term we sink back on our seats and mop our foreheads and pant. He is divine; but we want rest.¹ Come and trust us; we are all inspired, and we will work for you without the lash. Come." So I came, in fear and with great reluctance.

The departure from Clifton involved the breaking of very many ties. Apart from the School, which was so largely his own creation, he had many intimate associations with Bristol, as a result of his activities for educational and general progress in the city and neighbourhood.² His feelings in the period when the wrench had just taken place, as well as some of his deepest interests in Clifton and Bristol, find expression in a letter which he wrote to Mr. Killigrew Wait—perhaps the most intimate of his Bristol friends—in answer to a proposal that he should accept some form of testimonial.

TRINITY COLLEGE,
April 17, 1879.

MY DEAR WAIT—As my wife finds it difficult to answer your last kind note, and is besides rather tired, I think I had best endeavour to express my own feelings; though I may as well say at once that it is not possible for me to convey to you in particular or to all our other friends my sense of the overflowing kindness which has made our connection with Bristol so pleasant, and the memory of our leave-taking so precious for the rest of our lives. As regards the memento that you have in hand, my only regret is that it could not have been something quite inexpensive, so that you need not all have spent so much upon us. However, looking this matter in the face as it now presents itself, I feel no objection to some plate which may remind my children hereafter of the kindness of Bristol friends to their father, and may be an encouragement and a stimulus

¹ Cf. Mr. Bradby's account of Percival at Rugby, p. 123.

² See pp. 258-264.

to them to do their duty ; but *I must ask you to let the bulk of the subscriptions go to some public object.* It need not be specially associated with the College. If it could be used so as to help forward any poor boys of ability, who might be rising through the various grades of Bristol schools, I should like that. I suppose that the city has more than enough of endowments in the way of exhibitions, free tuition, etc. ; but possibly some need may occur to some of you. I have sometimes thought that a small trust for supplying poor boys of talent with good books, if well administered, might be of great service. It must often happen that such boys are very much handicapped and hampered, in cases where the parents cannot understand the need of certain books, and could not afford to supply them if they did.

If this sort of thing were thought worth considering it would be easy to form a small Board of Trustees, whose duty it would be to administer the fund, in accordance with some simple rules securing that the help should go to the most deserving. I make this suggestion with some little diffidence, not because I have any doubt of the value of such a scheme if carried out, but because of my want of familiarity with the resources of Bristol as they are to be administered under the new order of things.

I hope this may be of some service to you on Saturday and may help to save you trouble. In spite of all these testimonials which keep telling me that a chapter, the main chapter, of my life is closed, the whole thing seems still a dream and I can hardly realise that I am not coming back, or that my home is no longer at Clifton.—With best regards to Mrs. Wait, ever yours sincerely,

J. PERCIVAL.

It was only in a geographical sense that his home was no longer at Clifton. His association with the School was intimate until his death. As Chairman of the Council he was closely linked with its development, and no School function was complete without his presence. It is impossible to enumerate his visits ; they were times of delight to himself, to his old friends, and to new members of the School, both boys and masters, who rejoiced in the opportunity to make the acquaintance of the founder of their tradition. No one who was present will forget the emotion which he displayed at the Clifton College Jubilee on July 13, 1912. He had preached in the College Chapel from the text that he chose

for his first sermon : “ Neither is he that planteth anything, nor he that watereth ; but God that giveth the increase.” He had dwelt on the wonderful growth of the School. “ Fifty years ago the ground on which we now stand was a green field without a history or human associations or a human interest. As we gather on it to-day it is a shrine, sanctified by many a sacred memory, enriched with the affection and devotion of those who grew up here and went out from us to bear the name of their School and exhibit its spirit in the various fields of life and duty in almost every quarter of the globe.” Speeches had been made by the Headmaster and the Lord Chancellor—Lord Haldane—and Canon Glazebrook. The advertised ceremony was at an end. But the President of Magdalen rose to present to the Bishop of Hereford an address signed by those Old Cliftonians present at the celebrations who had been his pupils at the School :

We, the undersigned, who were boys at Clifton during your Headmastership, and now have met to celebrate the Jubilee of the School, wish to say how glad we are that you have been spared to see, after fifty years, the great results of your work for the School ; and to express to you our deep personal gratitude for all that it has meant to us to have been at Clifton under you.

The Bishop had not known that any such presentation was intended. He was unprepared and overwhelmed. The phrases in which he replied convey nothing but conventional thanks when read in cold print. But his emotion was deep, and showed to the assembly how profound was his love for the School and for his old pupils.

Later on the Bishop wrote to the President to express his thanks more formally, and received in reply a letter which tells the origin of the presentation :

HOTEL MOUNT PLEASANT,
GREAT MALVERN,
Sept. 6, 1912.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP—It was a very great and real pleasure to me to receive your letter here yesterday—and it will be not less so I know to Cookson and Cannan when I pass it on to them. The original idea of the Address was Cookson’s, but we were

all instantaneously of one heart and memory and mind and voice directly it was thought of. And that was what we were and shall be always now in thinking of the great mercy and blessing, for such it truly was, of the Clifton Jubilee. I really cannot tell you what it was to me to sit again in the old way in Chapel and hear your sermon linking the years together, with their hopes and memories and resolves—resolves especially. For these indeed I feel we need to renew and reinforce—to take up with the light of long experience yet with the refreshed aspiration of revived youth our old ideals—the ideals which you set before us forty and fifty years ago, and have set before us once again the other day. . . . I am, my dear Dr. Percival, always your attached friend and pupil,

T. HERBERT WARREN.

It is fitting that the School which he led to greatness should be his last resting-place. But while he lived it could be no place of rest for him. He never felt that the ideal which he had in view had been attained. That ideal could not be better described than in the following paragraphs from his sermon at the Jubilee :

As I look round on our English world the sense of need is with me still. I have to confess to you that I feel, as I felt thirty-five years ago, that there is still a new name to be won by that school which shall first find out the secret of how to train up and send forth, not a select few only, but the great mass of its sons, the rank and file of its members, distinguished by a new combination of qualities and gifts.

I still dream of the time when from some school, under some influence which as yet we know not, there shall go forth year by year a new generation of men, who shall be characterised not merely by some social, athletic, or literary accomplishment, some conventional varnish or culture, but by a combination of gifts and strength and moral purpose, which shall stamp them as prominent workers, if not as leaders and prophets in the next stage of our country's evolutionary progress. There is still abundant room, to say nothing of the crying need, for these social missionaries of a new type, who shall be men of simple and pure tastes, the declared enemies of luxury and self-indulgence and greed, whether vulgar or refined ; men in whom public spirit, public duty and social purpose shall be practicable and guiding motives, not vague and intermittent sentiments ; men who shall feel the call to alter the conditions of life, and remove

the manifold temptations which are working so destructively among the multitudes of our poorer classes ; men who, with all this, are not bigoted, but who realise that earnestness of purpose and a tolerant spirit are not incompatible, and, above all, men whose life shall be guided by a serious and humble and reverent spirit, who may fairly be described as true Christian citizens—strong, faithful and not afraid. During the years that have intervened since I thus felt, it can hardly be said that the vision has been realised or the need more fully supplied. In our unprecedented industrial and commercial prosperity, the higher moral ideals have, on the whole, lost rather than gained in power and influence. During the last thirty years we have seen a marvellous increase in wealth and its attendant luxury, and, as a consequence, a corresponding increase in habits of pride and self-indulgence. The atmosphere of our life has thus been less favourable to moral ideals and purposes ; ordinary men are more under the influence of pleasure, of sport and amusement ; things that are more excellent seem farther away from the daily aims which make up the distinguishing character and purposes of our common English life. Under such circumstances of the time we live in, you may feel that the thought of such a race of Public School men as I have been dreaming of, who shall give a new tone to the national life, pouring a new spirit into it and lifting it to higher levels, is nothing better than the idle vision of an old man's dream—

A vision unfulfilled, which we
Who watch and wait shall never see.

But, even so, I have still, in my old age, to hold on to the hope of it as the vision of the only city which hath foundations, whose maker and builder is God. So then, looking through and beyond our present imperfect life, with all its negligences and its ignorances, its failures and its waste, I venture to repeat to you my hopes of long ago—that from schools such as this, and from this school in particular, there may go forth, year by year, an ever-increasing number of such men as I have described, to be the purifying and preserving salt of the life of their time.

In service of that same ideal he was now to toil under different conditions, in an atmosphere largely alien and in circumstances which he had less authority to shape. But his achievement at Clifton must have been an encouragement to himself as it remained an inspiration to others.

After his death the Council of Clifton College showed its sense of his services to Clifton by passing the following resolution :

CLIFTON COLLEGE.

At the first Meeting held since the death of Dr. Percival, the Council of Clifton College RESOLVE, before performing any other act, to record their deep sense of the rare fortune which gave him to the College as its first Headmaster, and later enabled them to enjoy his services for so many years as a Member, and as Chairman, of their body. Created, established and maintained in large measure by his force, his guidance and his generosity, and impressed with his genius, the School, they feel, owes him an unique debt, in gratefully acknowledging which to his relatives they desire also to add their sincere while respectful condolence with them in their personal loss through the termination of so noble and valuable a life.

APPENDIX

The following benefactions to Clifton College were made by Dr. Percival at various dates :

PERCIVAL BENEFACTIONS

- 1870. A gift of £800 towards the cost of the Library.
- 1899. £100 for the foundation of the " Louisa Percival Prizes " for knowledge in the New Testament, in memory of his wife, the late Louisa Percival.
- 1910. £2223 for the foundation of three Scholarships, to be of the value of £33 a year for day boys. The Scholarships to be called—
 - (1) " The Louisa Percival Scholarship," in memory of his wife, the late Mrs. Louisa Percival.
 - (2) " The Frederick Percival Scholarship," in memory of his youngest son, killed by an accident, June 1881.
 - (3) " The Robert Hardwicke Percival Scholarship," in memory of his eldest son, died August 1908.
- 1915. £1000 foundation of the " Arthur Percival Scholarship," in memory of his son, Lieut.-Col. Arthur Jex Blake Percival, D.S.O., killed in action, October 1914.

Dr. Percival is also commemorated at Clifton by the following memorials :

In 1874 the Library and Museum buildings were completed, partly by the subscriptions of masters and Old Cliftonians, on condition that the building should be called the "Percival Buildings."

In 1880 the "Percival Scholarship" of £20 a year was founded by Old Cliftonians in memory of the Headmastership of Dr. Percival.

CHAPTER III

TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD

It was in the spirit of adventure that the Fellows of Trinity College, Oxford, invited Percival to accept the Presidency ; and it was equally an adventure when he decided to accept it.

Seventeen years is a long spell for work so concentrated as that of a Headmaster. Some Headmasters, indeed, have thought it possible, after gearing up the school-machine according to their standards, to let it run almost of its own accord. Percival could never do that. He must needs watch every detail ; and the strain was too great to be indefinitely continued. He had already informed one of his colleagues—as Mr. E. M. Oakeley narrates in his sketch of Percival's career—that he was only deferring his resignation till he could be sure that a suitable successor was in sight. While he was thus conscious of the need of change the invitation of the Fellows of Trinity reached him, and he decided to accept it. Indeed it would appear from the following letter that he had been desirous of some such appointment before the invitation came :

Oct. 4, 1878.

DEAR MRS. PERCIVAL—From what I can learn I imagine that the Election at Queen's is a foregone conclusion though I have not heard this directly from any of the Fellows : meanwhile there is another Headship vacant in Oxford—Trinity—and a rumour has reached me that there may be a chance of Dr. Percival being elected.

I have written to those of the Fellows whom I know, to urge upon them that they could not do a better thing for the College

and for the University. Do not be sanguine, but there is a chance.—Ever yours truly,

B. JOWETT.

The appointment was naturally of extreme interest to Old Cliftonians at Oxford. One of them, now President of Magdalen and then a Fellow of two years' standing, writes :

It came as an intense surprise not only to Clifton but to Oxford. Trinity had always been a distinguished and spirited College justly proud of its own *alumni*, and much beloved by them. What, Oxford asked, had happened ? That any College and specially Trinity should go outside its own sacred circle did indeed surprise not only Percival but Oxford generally and Trinity men in particular. With them it is no exaggeration to say it was extremely unpopular. How it came about was never exactly revealed. Why "Sammy" Wayte, the previous President, a kindly, old-fashioned gentleman, somewhat of an Academic Whig, who had been at school with my father, resigned, remained somewhat of a mystery. Some said he did not want to be Vice-Chancellor, but he could easily have passed this office. By an odd coincidence he retired to live very quietly in Clifton, where from time to time I used to call on him and tell him the Oxford gossip. I was a young fellow at Magdalen, and one of our Senior Fellows, the Rev. Thomas Henry Toovey Hopkins, was an old and attached Trinity man, a boating man, and blunt of speech. One of his sisters was married to the Rev. North Pinder, an old Fellow and Tutor of Trinity, an excellent classical scholar. He had edited a book in which I greatly delighted and to which I owed much, *Selections from the less known Latin Poets*, the title of which, we were told, as it contained excerpts from Catullus, gave much umbrage to Robinson Ellis. Canon Pinder was a very kindly sensible man, and would have made an admirable Head of the old type. Hopkins naturally thought he ought to have been elected President rather than any outsider, and said so. The choice of Percival was generally put down to the influence of Raper, then and later the Trinity "Kingmaker." Dr. Percival had told us at Clifton "that he was going to a very critical place." He had before him the example of Bradley at University and what he himself called Bradley's "very explosive Common Room," but he could hardly have known to what special criticism and thwartings he would be exposed. Conservative and clerical Oxford, and Oxford was then far more Conservative and clerical than it became later, looked at him

askance as an extreme Liberal, and a Latitudinarian and an ally of Jowett, though doctrinally I think he never was quite that. If he was, we boys did not discover it. His sermons do not at all show it, nor I think would Lord Selborne have made him as he did a Canon of Bristol had he been so.

The emissary of the College was the well-known Latin scholar, Professor Robinson Ellis. Legends have grown up about his visit to Clifton. It is rumoured that he was nervous, and seeking for alleviating circumstances. His host began by expressing surprise that he should have been selected. "Ah, my dear Percival," said the Professor, "I do not wonder at your surprise, but you see we had such a very small field." He had found Percival alone, and clutched at a straw. "You *are* unmarried, Mr. Percival?" "No," was the reply. "I am married, but Mrs. Percival is upstairs to-day as she is not well." "Ah," said the Professor hopefully, "then she *is* in poor health."

Not many would have sought comfort in precisely this direction. But nervousness was widely felt. The invitation to a stranger, not even a member of the College, to accept the Presidency, was not sent without keen searchings of heart among the members of the Senior Common Room. The story is here told in the words of Bishop Robertson, then one of the Fellows, and afterwards Bishop of Exeter :

When, to our surprise and regret, in the Long Vacation of 1878 President Wayte resigned his Headship and left Oxford for Clifton, we most of us had our first experience, and I my only one, of a Presidential election. I should like to say at the outset that although more than one of the then existing Fellows was named as a possible candidate, there was a total absence of rivalry, self-seeking or bitterness in the election, before it or after it. We were all of us desirous to do simply what was best for the College. I may also say that I was quite a Junior Fellow at the time and my vote represented the sum total of my influence on the election. Personally, the candidate of my choice would have been North Pinder, a distinguished scholar, late Fellow of the College and then Rector of Grays near Henley. A few years later he would have commanded several votes, but at that time he was but little known among the actual Fellows. So my problem as a voter was simply to choose among the other candi-

dates likely to find support. Among the other Fellows named as possible President, Raper would probably have had a few votes, but decidedly the most likely candidate was H. G. Woods, Bursar and Tutor, afterwards President, and later on Master of the Temple. There was, however, a feeling, shared by many of the Fellows, that the College wanted new blood, and that Woods' time had not quite come. As Raper constantly reminded us, we had "the whole clerical world" to choose from. It was, I think, Raper himself who first suggested Percival, then Headmaster of Clifton. Of that School he was, by common acknowledgement, the creator, while seventeen years of conspicuously successful work amply justified him in looking for another sphere for his energy. The proposal to elect Percival was warmly taken up by Robinson Ellis, and Charles Gore afterwards Bishop of Oxford.

Raper, having thrown out this important suggestion, seemed disinclined to act upon it and was regarded as a supporter of Woods. On that side also stood Franklin Richards, tutor, and M. H. Green, lecturer and librarian. Gent (now the County Court Judge), who would have supported Raper, ultimately voted, I think, for Woods. Whitehead (now Bishop of Madras) and I hardened in favour of Percival; last, but not least, the venerable Vice-President, Thomas Short, who had been Newman's tutor in the teens of the century, voted for Woods, hardly realising that there was another serious candidate. The eve of the election came, we had a prolonged discussion in Raper's rooms, and it was reckoned that Woods would have a majority of one. Next morning (Tuesday, October 22), we were to meet in the Chapel and complete in due form the solemnities of the election. In the morning, before the time for chapel had come, Raper announced himself a convert to the side of Percival. This decided the election. It fell to my painful lot a day or two later to explain to Short that the election had not been merely *pro forma*, but that Percival was the elected candidate. I should explain that the College statutes required that two names should be submitted to the Visitor, of which he had the right to choose one. The names of the two candidates who received most votes were accordingly taken by a deputation of the Fellows to Bishop Browne at Farnham Castle, and the election of Dr. Percival was duly ratified in view of his majority at the College *scrutinium*. A few past members of the Foundation appealed to the Visitor to appoint Woods, but the Visitor very properly deferred to the wishes of the College, as embodied in the majority of votes cast at the election. Accordingly, on Thursday, October 31, at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, the new President was formally

admitted by Vice-President Short. The new President dined in Hall for the first time on Wednesday, November 13.

Looking back on the election over one-and-forty years, it is easy to realise that what was done was the cause of misgiving among old members of the College. At that time the election to a Headship of a member of another College, totally unconnected with the College of his electors, was, I believe, without precedent in Oxford. But it is right to say that this precedent has been freely followed since then in other Colleges of Oxford, to say nothing of Cambridge.

On the whole the election justified itself, not only by the subsequent expansion of the College and addition to its buildings, but by the stimulus to the life and work of the College which can unmistakably be traced to the advent of the new President. This is no derogation whatever to those who had hitherto had the guidance of the College in their hands. However well guided, an institution is liable to become too much the bond-servant of its own excellent traditions. The College traditions of Trinity were excellent, but perhaps the College was ripe for innovations which, planted in a good soil, were destined to bear fruit for the good of the society.

It is necessary, but not quite easy, to say a word as to the personal factor in the new conditions. Of the main thing there can be no doubt. Percival was a man of high-minded austerity in all that concerned duty, and the whole College was the better for the Headship of a man of his lofty character and ideals. Accustomed to the Headship of a Public School, where his colleagues were absolutely at his beck and call, virtually appointed and dismissable by his unfettered choice, he did not easily accommodate himself to the University conditions where the Fellows were his colleagues, but with quite independent rights, doing their duty, but in their own way, not necessarily in the President's. Accustomed to summary methods, he may have been at times impatient of the give-and-take method, which alone succeeds with undergraduates, resentful if treated as schoolboys. Possibly also the new President may have felt the change from a governing body like that of Clifton, virtually a company of directors, leaving all expert matters to the judgment of the Headmaster as managing director, to a College meeting, the individual members of which were his juniors, but which in its collective action was supreme. Percival was not an accommodating character, nor quick to yield a point to an adverse majority. All this may be truthfully said without going into unnecessary detail. But with all deductions, we felt that he was a great and good man and a bracing influence, not only among the under-

graduates but among the Fellows. I will venture to illustrate my feeling by recalling a conversation with my dear old friend A. M. Worthington (afterwards F.R.S.), who was a master at Clifton under Percival and after. Worthington was, I should mention, a Unitarian. Walking together on Clifton Down he turned to me :

"Robertson, do you like Percival's sermons? I can't bear them."

"Why not?"

"I dislike being kicked."

"No doubt you do," said I, "but he's always trying to kick you upstairs and that is something."

There are many courses open to the holder of an academic office. He may merely carry through an existing routine with cultured urbanity; he may devote himself to research in his own department of learning; he may occupy himself with the training and teaching of the undergraduates; he may set himself to make more thorough and efficient the educational institution to which he is attached. Percival's two dominant interests stood out strongly during his time at Trinity: he was before all else a reformer and an educator. His new post gave him abundant scope for activity along both these lines. At Clifton his reforming energy had taken the shape of creative work with an ideal steadily before him—the ideal described in the School Jubilee sermon from which quotations have been given. He was, as Bishop Robertson has said, little interested in problems of research, but "profoundly insistent on the question, What are our undergraduates going to be in later life?" Oxford as a whole he regarded as primarily concerned with turning out men who would truly serve the nation. No doubt he would have admitted in argument the place of learning for its own sake; but in practice he made little allowance for it. Professor Bywater is credited with a comment on some utterance of Percival: "There are no such enemies of learning as the educationalists." But perhaps the converse is equally true, for there is a tale of a junior don who asked the Professor to recommend him an edition of Aristotle's *De caelo*; he at once named several, giving their characteristics, and then asked why the information was wanted. The young don

replied that a pupil of his was interested in it. "Oh," said the Professor; "now you take my advice. Don't you start working for your pupils. If you once start working for your pupils, there's no end to it."

Oxford is a learned society; and though most of University and College officers are engaged in teaching, it is mainly with the intellectual development of their pupils that they are concerned. Direct moral influence is for the most part confined to occasional disciplinary actions. Probably this is wholesome; a stage of life has been reached when men must begin to choose their own ideals. Percival, however, felt that most of them were drifting without any deliberate choice at all, and that those who had a definite aim in life had often accepted rather a low one. He missed in the general social life any sense of a moral purpose pervading and guiding it all. Long afterwards, when preaching one of those Sunday evening sermons which he himself instituted in the University Church, he said:

I have again and again been moved to lament the extreme individualism of college life here in Oxford, an individualism which lingers as a sort of survival of the days when men thought less of moral solidarity and social duty and calling than most men do to-day, an individualism which very possibly still affects some of you in your relations with the life immediately around you.

Those of you who have come—as many of you have—from one or other of the best of our public schools, accustomed there to the moral responsibilities of the prefect's acknowledged and accepted position, and having been very jealous of the purity and honour of your corporate life and of every individual's contribution to it, knowing as you do what a purifying, strengthening, and uplifting influence that system of sixth-form responsibility and authority has had upon the common life of your house or school—such members of one college or another in this University must have felt when they first found themselves in the extremely individualistic society of their college, no man seeming to recognise any responsibility for the character, conduct, or tone of his neighbour, as if they had suddenly dropped into some lower stratum of social intercourse. So long as these contrasts remain in our educational system, our training for life remains a thing of shreds and patches, and the higher gifts and possibilities consequently run to waste in many a soul.

Is it not then a pertinent question to ask whether these contrasts between school and college ought to continue; and whether it is altogether right and well that so many young lives should be flung at the opening of manhood into such an artificial and unchartered freedom as sometimes prevails here, with so little of moral instruction or social guidance?

It is at any rate permissible to dream of undergraduate life so ordered that every young student during his earliest residence, and when gathering his first impressions, should be first of all instructed by some gifted and inspiring teacher in what we might call the ideal history and ideal purpose of his college and the university around it, and made familiar with its great names and its inspiring examples, and thus stirred to feel at the outset the greater possibilities of his own manhood and what should be his preparation for it.

We may dream also of an undergraduate college life more self-governed than hitherto, in which, through the influence of the most thoughtful, the most instructed, the most high-minded among you, there shall be no tolerance for the man of bad language, or low tone, or wasteful extravagance, or sensual vice, or any form of bad example or influence, bringing discredit on the society and moral risk to those who enter it.

And no man can deny that we greatly need the realisation of such dreams, so as to raise to its maximum the moral and spiritual influence of university training.

We need it because, on the one hand, your life is beset by the dangers of wealth and materialism, by the prevalence of luxury, self-indulgence, and sport; and because, on the other hand, the call is so urgent for such as you to be morally and spiritually fitted to take your due share in all the new developments of our English life, which are coming upon us like a tidal force through the uprising of a new democracy, with all its new claims and new aspirations.

This sermon, delivered more than twenty years after he left Oxford to return to Rugby and to school life, points to the source of his dissatisfaction with Oxford. It was not that, having tasted the autocratic powers of a Headmaster, he chafed at the constitutional restrictions which limit the authority of the Head of a College, though no doubt his eager temperament was very sensitive to all the checks which hindered him in the realisation of what seemed to him a manifestly fine ideal. The source of dissatisfaction and of

friction when it arose, was the conflict of ideals. Not for his own sake, but for the sake of the undergraduates and their future service of the nation, he desired to make life in a College a great deal more like life in a school than it now is.

There were times when the College, or at least some members of it, felt that he was acting too autocratically, and a proposal was made to pass a new statute putting all College officers, including the President, under the complete control of the College meeting. This called forth from Percival a memorandum which is of interest for the general principles stated in it as well as for the comments on the particular proposal.

MEMORANDUM ON SECTION 17 OF THE DRAFT STATUTES
OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD

Being unable to concur in the opinion of the College as set forth in the following words of Clause 17—"The President shall in the performance of his duties be subject to the direction of the College; and anything done by him may (without prejudice to any rights of third parties lawfully subsisting thereunder) be modified, countermanded, or reversed by the College." I desire, in the interest of the harmonious and efficient working of the College in the future, to express my dissent from this portion of the said clause, and respectfully to ask your consideration of my reasons for so doing.

The Fellows have, as I understand, been led to adopt their view of the expediency of such a clause by their recollection of difficulties experienced some years ago, and I heartily sympathise with their desire to obviate any possible recurrence of such difficulties hereafter.

At the same time I am unable to see how such difficulties could be avoided by the provision which is now proposed. If the words mean that the President is to be subject to the constant interference and direction of a College meeting as to the mode in which he sets about and performs his recognised duties, or any detail relating to them, the clause must in practice prove to be either inoperative or intolerable. In any ordinary state of feeling it would of course be inoperative, whereas, if feeling were very much strained, either the President for the time being or some section of the Fellows exhibiting an interfering or impracticable temper, its operation could only aggravate any mischief that might exist, and would produce a state of things

scarcely endurable in a small community, and very detrimental to its interests.

I agree entirely in the view that the duties of individuals in a corporate body cannot be too clearly defined. Every possible cause of misunderstanding should be removed, and every precaution should be taken to secure the best interests of the Society ; but this done, I would submit that every officer should be considered to be free from interference as to the mere *modus operandi* in the discharge of his duties. Otherwise, if interfering clauses have any effect at all, they only tend to produce irritation and estrangement on the one hand, and on the other timidity and general ineffectiveness.

What I have said with regard to this part of Clause 17 applies with even greater force in some respects to the corresponding words of Clause 35, as the officers referred to in that Clause are, with the exception of the Tutors, elected from year to year.

My experience hitherto has been that the only certain way of combining the conditions of a harmonious life with real vigour and efficiency in administration is to define duties with the utmost clearness, and then to repose entire confidence in individuals as to their mode of performing their duties, judging them by the results of their work.

In dealing with clauses of this kind it has also to be borne in mind that the natural and inevitable tendency of small collegiate bodies in a University is always towards excess of criticism, with a corresponding weakness or timidity as regards administration or practical vigour ; and yet every College is mainly dependent for its success on the vigour and enthusiasm of its officers.

I may, I trust, be permitted to add as another argument against the adoption of the provision to which I object that I have not seen any such provision in the statutes of any other College.

J. PERCIVAL.

President, Trinity College.

May 7, 1880.

There can be no doubt that in manner and method Percival sometimes played the Headmaster, and whether or not undergraduates ought to be treated in some degree like schoolboys, it is certain that they greatly resent it when they are. He had, moreover, certain prejudices which were becoming old-fashioned, of which one was a horror of tobacco except in rigid privacy. There is a story of his once fining an undergraduate a sovereign for wearing a straw hat on a

Sunday afternoon in the College garden. But irksome as his rule was to some, the result was indisputable. One well-known Fellow of the College complained that he felt obliged to go round to the Oxford wine-merchants and apologise for the small consumption of wine accomplished by Trinity undergraduates under Percival's rule.

Perhaps the most celebrated story that is told to illustrate his magisterial methods is that which concerns the first day of his first term. It was the custom for undergraduates to absent themselves from Chapel on the first morning after their return from the vacation. Percival was not prepared for this. He sent for the entire College, bidding them all come to him at an appointed hour. Only a few could get into the study, and the rest were kept waiting in the entrance hall. It was still unfurnished and uncarpeted ; also it was distinctly cold. Some ingenious youth suggested a dance, and in a few moments the President's hall was a chaos of whirling couples. Percival appeared at the study door, either to stop the noise or else perhaps to summon the next batch to his presence. He gazed for a moment on the unexpected scene, and then sent the whole assembly about its business. The episode was regarded as closed.

An illustration of his method is afforded by the incident of the circular, of which Canon A. J. Galpin, a scholar of the College from 1879 to 1883, and afterwards classical lecturer, gives the following account :

I remember during my first term finding one day on my table a printed paper signed by the President and containing a string of questions rather after this style : " Are you reading for an Honour School or for a Pass Degree ? " " How many lectures do you attend each week ? " " How many hours do you give to private study during the week ? " and so forth. I thought it a little inquisitorial, but, not being versed in the methods pursued by Heads of Houses in general, I felt no particular vexation. Far otherwise was it with the second and third year men. The place was soon buzzing with a strange blend of ridicule and indignation. Other Colleges were highly amused. The caricaturist of the day at once had Percival up in Shrimpton's window as a sandwich man, displaying on his board the derided questions and wearing the plaintive look of one who has missed fire.

The President was even more permanently involved in contention with the Common Room than with the undergraduates. He vexed the Fellows by his refusal to accept or admit defeat. If his proposals were not accepted by the College, he reiterated them at a later meeting with a combination of unruffled patience and unswerving persistence which was peculiarly irritating to those who thought that a proposal was killed by defeat on a division. Perhaps in his own College, certainly in the University, he was an object of suspicion and anxiety because of his well-known desire to make the University accessible to poor students, and especially to working men. He was known to be utterly indifferent to the superficial marks of "good form," and to face the prospect of a thoroughly democratised Oxford with no shuddering horror but rather with an eager hope. He thought such an Oxford would work harder and bring more benefit to the nation.

Of his general position in the College and the University Sir Herbert Warren writes :

There was, as perhaps there always has been, a prejudice at Oxford against Schoolmaster Heads of Houses. He was thought to be out of sympathy with "research." He was thought by some to be too eager to reform not only Trinity but Oxford. "That's a very ambitious young man, Warren," I remember my own "Head," dear, dignified, old Dr. Bulley, beautiful in his placid benignity, saying to me as we walked together down the High Street from St. Mary's after hearing one of Percival's sermons when he was select Preacher. All this was natural, and might have been foreseen. What I think was hard was that the prejudice against Schoolmasters, and the after effects of the Trinity discontents, hampered and prejudiced him with those who should have been his friends. I well remember how when he was proposed at one of the first Caucuses I ever attended of the "holders of Liberal opinions" gathered at Oriel College, as a candidate for the Hebdomadal Council, he received the support of Jowett and Henry Smith, Barth Price, and Alfred Robinson, but was cold-shouldered not only by Sir William Anson and the Moderates, but by Pelham and his friends. In his own College, too, he met with cold support, if not open opposition from some of the very persons who had been most active in bringing him in as Head. One man I always thought behaved with the most

generous loyalty. This was his chief rival, the Bursar Henry George Woods, afterwards himself a most successful President, and later Master of the Temple. A caricature displayed in Shrimpton's window, just opposite Trinity gates, showed Dr. Percival as a successful cock standing on the top of the College wall and overcrowing his defeated rival. About this caricature Mrs. Percival told me an amusing story. Coming up from Clifton to look at the new house and bringing her second small boy "Guthrie" with her, she saw this representation in the shop window and went into the shop and bought it. "If you're interested in these caricatures," said the man, "we have another," and proceeded to take it out of a drawer. "Oh, mother, that's not nearly so like father," cried the child, to Mrs. Percival's amusement, but to the consternation of the shopman, who could only stammer, "I assure you, madam, I had no idea you were connected with the new President."

For these reasons among others I think, and it certainly was the prevailing opinion, that Dr. Percival was never quite happy during his sojourn at Oxford, nor indeed did he seem so. He gradually, indeed pretty rapidly, won his way, and made friends amongst young and old, and struck many good strokes for the causes which were dear to him. It must, I think, be admitted that in nine short years he did a very great deal for his College. Always distinguished, it had rather gone to sleep and fallen behind. He certainly roused and raised it. He carried through the erection of the new buildings, he introduced new Tutors, notably his old Clifton pupil, Mr. Charles Cannan, of Corpus, an intellectual force, as the world has been recently reminded by his loss, of a very high order. As at Clifton he attracted energetic and ambitious students to his College, the barometric curve of its Honours List began to mount. As so often happens, much of the College success was won after he left. He laboured, and others entered into his labours. Outside the College he devoted himself to the cause of women's education. He was one of the prime movers in the establishment of Somerville College, and rendered it an incalculable service by securing Miss Shaw Lefevre as the first Principal, a characteristically bold and unconventional appointment. He gave much time to the establishment of the University College at Bristol, since developed into Bristol University. To me he remained the kindest and most paternal of friends, continually asking me to his house or to dine with him in Hall. In the Christmas vacation of 1880-1881 I took what soon after became common enough, but then was hardly known, a winter trip to the Engadine. It was a delightful experience. There were one or two amusing episodes. The

first was when, at a Station Hotel just before starting from Paris for Bâle, we were grossly overcharged for a poor dinner and still poorer washing accommodation. I can see my old Headmaster now, annoyance and wrath at being imposed upon and a north-countryman's canny desire for economy commingled in his looks, towering over the little French waiter who presented the "addition," and saying in north-country accents, "Taake it away maan, there's some mistaake in the figures. Taake them away and get them chaanged," and my surprise when the bill was brought back reduced. The next adventure was with a different nationality. We were driving from Chur in the brief winter day over the Julier to St. Moritz, tired and sleepy with our previous night's journey and some good "Veltlin" wine. Suddenly the sledge ran off the track and slid down the steep bank; we were tumbled into the powdery snow, losing the warmth we were carefully preserving with our rugs, and abruptly shaken up. Dr. Percival once again attempted to remonstrate in his best magisterial manner, but the Swiss driver paid not the smallest attention, only shouting directly he had got the horses and the sleigh straight, "Shteege een, shteege een, esh kommt Abend."

One social and ceremonial event during this period is of peculiar interest because of the personalities that it brought together. Very soon after Percival became President of Trinity, John Henry Newman, already an Honorary Fellow of his old College, became a Cardinal. Immediately after his return to England from the Consistory at which he was invested, Percival wrote asking him to dine with the College at the Gaudy, on Trinity Monday, 1880, and the Cardinal accepted the invitation. It is interesting to reflect upon the divergence of view between the President and his guest; it could hardly be wider. The representative character of the meeting from an intellectual point of view was, however, not so complete as Percival tried to make it. One of the distinguished Oxonians invited to meet the Cardinal on this occasion was Mark Pattison.

LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD,
May 15, 1880.

DEAR MRS. PERCIVAL—Let me write, what I have already expressed to you, my thanks for your kindly including me in the party you invite to meet the Cardinal, and to add that my regret

at not being able to avail myself of your invitation is much softened by what you have told me, viz. that Newman had expressed a wish to see me. . . .—Believe me, dear Mrs. Percival,

MARK PATTISON.

The Cardinal stayed with Percival for a few days. From this time onwards Percival often wrote to him, and being in Rome in 1887 sent him a painting of his Church—San Pietro in Vellabro,—which Newman always kept in his room and caused to be hung at the foot of his bed when he was dying.

In the following year a terrible blow fell upon the President and Mrs. Percival. Their youngest son, Freddie, a specially clever boy, full of spirit and with a gift for music, was killed through an accident when out riding on Portmeadow. It was a lifelong sorrow, and in the first months it was very hard to bear. Jowett wrote to Percival in the following winter :

I sometimes fear that you are disappointed with Oxford. No wonder that the sky should seem dark and heavy to you after the calamity of last year. I miss the little fellow though I hardly knew his name. He used to touch his cap and come and walk with me as though he thought that I was a friend of his because I was a friend of yours. I do not suppose that I can quite realise the agony which the recollection of him causes to you and his mother. But you must endeavour to get over it, or it will do you great harm, worse than the long overwork of Clifton. You must leave him where he is—with God. If you are depressed it makes you less fit for work in College and in the University. And you are no longer able to take that hopeful view of things which is the soul of success.

Three years after his election at Trinity, Percival's connection with Bristol and Clifton was renewed by his appointment to a Canonry of Bristol Cathedral. It was Lord Selborne who, as Lord Chancellor, brought this about.

BLACKMOOR,
WEST LISS, HANTS,
Oct. 3/82.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT—You are, no doubt, aware that there is a vacant Canonry at Bristol: and probably you may also know that it would give pleasure to many of your friends, there

and elsewhere, to see it conferred upon yourself. I have such entire confidence in you, that I should not hesitate to be governed by your own judgement as to its compatibility, in point of residence and otherwise, with your present duties in Oxford. You would, I feel sure, agree with me, that in these days a Canonry in a Cathedral Church ought not to be conferred, or accepted, as a sinecure or mere preferment; and that it is an office, the duties of which ought to be regarded, not as limited to the necessary performance of services in the Cathedral during certain months of residence, but as extending to every kind of salutary influence which may be made to radiate from the Cathedral as from a centre. That you have the gifts and personal qualities, and also the due sense of the high calling of a Christian minister, which are necessary for the exercise of such an influence, I feel sure: and, if you have no doubt as to its compatibility with the duties of President of Trinity, I shall have none.—Believe me, dear Mr. President, very sincerely yours,

SELBORNE.

TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD,
Oct. 9, 1882.

MY DEAR LORD—I have now given my best consideration to the question which you have so generously left to my decision, and I have also consulted two or three friends whose judgment I believe to be sound and dispassionate. They advise my acceptance of the Canonry, and are so good as to say that it affords an opportunity for Christian work in Bristol that I should under the circumstances do wrong to decline. I say little of my own judgment because it is so difficult to eliminate feeling in a personal matter, but I see no obstacle to a proper discharge of my combined duties as Canon and Head of a College; and I therefore accept the Canonry with much gratitude for the confidence you have reposed in me. I will only add that I shall take up the office as a sacred trust and hope by God's help to be enabled so to discharge its duties as to fulfil in some degree what I know to be your wishes for the good of the Church and the City of Bristol.—I am, etc.,

J. PERCIVAL.

BLACKMORE,
WEST LISS, HANTS,
Oct. 1/82.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT—I am very glad that you have seen your way to accept the Canonry, and I have not the least doubt

that the appointment will turn out to be much for the public advantage.

With hearty good wishes to Mrs. Percival and yourself, believe me, ever yours truly,

SELBORNE.

This involved the establishment of a second home in the neighbourhood of the Cathedral, and such a home was found—after a period of “residences” in “furnished rooms”—in Callender House. As Canon of Bristol he was able to do one great piece of work, for it was he who started the Sunday evening services in the Nave of the Cathedral. Those services have been from that time onwards a great feature in the religious life of Bristol and a strong spiritual influence on the community. But they were not started without difficulty. Dean Elliot at first refused permission to use the Nave: “You cannot preach there; there is no pulpit and the chapter will not provide one as no one would come.” Percival replied by asking, “If I can get a pulpit, will you give permission for the services?” Permission was given. Percival at once went to a cabinetmaker; the pulpit was made, at Percival’s expense, within a week, and the Nave was crowded every Sunday evening. It was a great disappointment that the pulpit was removed and the services discontinued at the end of his “residences.”

Mr. Vaughan Nash gives the following account of Percival’s activities in Bristol at this time:

I used to see Dr. Percival now and again during the period when he was dividing his time between Oxford and Bristol. As a junior recruit to the movement for starting evening schools, which he was looking after, as well as an onlooker on the outskirts of some rather forlorn industrial movements, one had opportunities from time to time of watching him in action, of observing that great and moving personality as it revealed itself in committee-work, on the platform, and even sometimes in *tête-à-tête* talk duly manœuvred for. Three of my brothers had been at school under him at Clifton, which perhaps detracted a little from the presumption.

I recall him in the chair at the evening school’s committee at Goldney House and other places, listening with grave patience to our fumbling reports, beaming encouragement on hopeful

suggestions and on work accomplished, chilling us to the marrow when it came to inviting explanations as to why the bright ideas of the previous meetings had got no further. I remember also his visit one evening to a school with a big complement of unruly boys, and how he admonished them, with extreme sternness, on the virtue of reverence, the lack of which had led to disturbance. How were the little band of worried teachers to elicit reverence from these urchins when that august presence, cold, shrouded, awful as an Alpine peak, bespoke it, alas! in vain? Again I recall him at a nightmare of a meeting convened by the Trades Council to consider the project of a Hall—a Percival project; there was an audience of less than a dozen, and he had come down on purpose from Oxford, armed with plans and an address. But the plans were unfolded, the details tranquilly set forth, the votes of thanks fearfully proposed, and we went home from the tragedy with a heavy sense of sin, but unreprieved. Dr. Percival put much labour into what are in contemporary language known as “wash-outs,” and there was in those days, I really think, something about the atmosphere of Bristol-cum-Clifton that conduced to wash-outs.

However that may have been, to the workmen of the city his sympathy and support were given without stint, and he was a noble advocate. Percival saw what movements like Trade Unionism and Co-operation meant, and the fervent and whole-hearted backing he gave them counted for something in those prehistoric days, though they were a cause of perplexity to some of his friends. His sermon at the Plymouth Co-operative Congress would, I think, if the fittest sermons survive, remain on record.

Others, who knew him well, can speak of the impression he made on them in personal intercourse. To me, as little more than a boy, the charm was deep. By some magic as it then seemed, the austere man melted into the gentle, friendly, companionable being—a contemporary who ranged himself alongside as if to invite and bestow confidences. Since those days fortune has permitted me, at a respectful distance, to come within ken of many distinguished men in various walks of life, but his personality, with its wonderful blend of beauty, dignity, and nobility, remains to me the most illustrious of them all. If Mr. Hardy had known him, one fancies that he would have been tempted to place him with the Presences and Beings.

The sermon to which Mr. Vaughan Nash refers was delivered on Whit-Sunday afternoon, June 13, 1886, in

St. Andrew's Church at Plymouth. Its message is familiar now, though still but little heeded. In 1886 it was something of a portent when uttered from a pulpit of the Established Church.

Competition is neither more nor less than the expression in your social activity of individual selfishness. However we wrap it up and disguise its character, when we come to examine it we find that it is at bottom nothing else but the endeavour to make gain for ourselves out of the struggle for individual success. It is, in fact, a sort of strife or warfare.

Competition, then, is antagonistic in its very essence to the principles of Christianity, for Christianity is rooted in love and sacrifice, in the sense of membership in Christ, and in the care for the weak and suffering, whilst St. Paul and his contemporaries would have said quite plainly, "competition is rooted in anti-christ."

We may take it as an axiom that every attempt to remedy the evils of life will end in failure, if it relies upon law to effect the cure, while it leaves the nature and the tempers, the aims and affections, and the spirit of men very much as it finds them.

Thus it is that Socialism without Christianity has no chance of enduring success. You cannot create a new world except by creating a new heart and a new purpose in common men. "He that would reform the world," said some writer, "must begin by reforming himself." And it is true. If you really desire to make the world better, your first act will be the constant prayer—"Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me."

The Report of the Archbishop's Fifth Committee of Inquiry—on *Christianity and Industrial Problems*—was rightly hailed in 1918 as marking an epoch. The ethical criticism of economic systems and doctrines received from its publication a quasi-official church sanction. But in principle it only expands what Percival preached to the Co-operative Movement in 1886.

At Trinity as elsewhere Percival was active in schemes for reform. He aimed at increasing the usefulness of Oxford as a whole and of his own College in particular. He had

already urged upon the various colleges a scheme whereby they should plant some of their Fellows in the great provincial centres as Professors in a kind of University College.¹ He now followed the same ideal by enthusiastic work as a pioneer of the University Extension Movement.² But he also meditated a startling step with a view to the development of the non-collegiate system as a means whereby poor men might genuinely obtain, in almost unlimited numbers, the benefits of a University education.

10 PRINCES BUILDINGS,
CLIFTON, BRISTOL,
Dec. 29, 1882.

MY DEAR VICE-CHANCELLOR— . . . I see by the *Times* that Kitchin has resigned. This gives an opportunity which might be made of great service to the unattached. I wonder where you will look for his successor?

Supposing you to be at a loss for a suitable man, should you think it a mad thing for me to offer to undertake it, resigning Trinity for the purpose, if I found on reckoning up that I could afford to do it financially? At present I don't know the value of the Censorship.

I don't suppose I shall ever be able to do much good for Trinity; and if I were to go they might probably elect Raper, who would make a very suitable Head in many ways.

As Censor of the Unattached, I suppose I should be pretty free to work out a good system, and the work would interest me more than anything else in Oxford.

The two drawbacks that occur to me are (1) that it might involve my family in sacrifices which perhaps I ought hardly to lay upon them, and (2) that average people, who are the majority, might think it either an eccentric or flighty thing to do, or else suspect some ulterior object and oppose or thwart; and either of these might suffice to bring about a failure.

But if you thought it really worth doing in order to make the system effective (1) for poor men, and (2) for elder men wishing to pursue some particular branch of study, I should be tempted to try it if the delegates would give me the chance. Only in that case I should have first to look carefully into the money question.—Yours ever,

J. PERCIVAL.

¹ See pp. 261 *et seq.*

² See pp. 265 *et seq.*

BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD,
Dec. 31.

MY DEAR PRESIDENT—I am very glad that you take an interest in the Non-Collegiate students. There are two things most pressing in English education : (1) The improvement and extension of intermediate schools ; (2) the extension of the Universities to a larger class of students.

What will be the future of the Non-Collegiate students at Oxford is rendered uncertain by the resignation of Kitchin, who has accepted a Tutorship at Christ Church. The great error hitherto has been the indiscriminate admission of them. Either they should come by special permission for the study of a special subject, or they should be up to a little-go standard of proficiency.

I would strongly advise you not to hint to any one an intention or desire to give up the Presidentship. It would be a great error ; you would be embarked on a very difficult enterprise without the advantage of a considerable Oxford position. The Vice-Chancellor and Proctors would be too glad to appoint you, but is it quite certain that you could do as much for the students in the position of Censor as you might as President of Trinity ? Unpaid service, if a man is willing to give it unsparingly, goes further than paid service, and by having a lecture for the Non-Collegiate students you might get to know as many of them as you could really help without interfering with your own College business.

I think also that you are mistaken about your success at Trinity. You have surely got on very well. Does not the College increase in numbers ? You have helped female education ; you have gathered a pleasant society about you and your hospitality is greatly valued. No one who has a great deal of energy will long be popular in Oxford, especially if he does not express the feelings of any party. He is suspected of doing things and meaning to do things which the majority do not like. There is intense childish sensitiveness and jealousy, and so a good deal of personality arises. No good man works for popularity, but most of us like sympathy : of this at Oxford we must not expect much from our equals and contemporaries, who would for the most part like our enterprises to fail : there is a great deal—often exaggerated—from undergraduates. Good preaching is one of the few things that command respect. For some reason or other, perhaps egotism, or the love of independence, there is very little fidelity to one another—less than in the old days of College life. Men betray one another in the most curious manner, often unintentionally and from mere thoughtlessness.

But I am drawing rather too unfavourable a picture of them : what I was myself slow to learn in Oxford is that if you want to do any good there you must be indifferent to public opinion, and must not expect to be placed where you could be most useful.

If you leave Trinity at all you should either go to a Bishopric or to the Deanery of Bristol.—Ever yours sincerely,

B. JOWETT.

10 PRINCES BUILDINGS,
CLIFTON, BRISTOL,
Jan. 8, 1883.

MY DEAR MASTER—I should have thanked you for your kind letter earlier, but I thought I would let the matter rest in my mind for a few days. What set me thinking of the unattached Censorship was my long-cherished belief that the system might develop into something really creditable to the University, and of service to the country.

It is not that I feel uneasy where I am. The College is in a much better condition in various ways than when I came ; but I expect it would go on well in its quiet little way under any fairly good Head ; and if there was an opportunity of doing a really good piece of work, life is short and it might be worth while to try it.

The Censor's work seems to me to need, if it is to be well done, appreciation of new conditions, some power of initiative, and adaptation, sympathy with *poor* men, organising faculty and the gift of inspiriting and stimulating. The Censor should also be known to some extent outside Oxford, and should have the confidence of those interested in education in populous places. I hope I am not ridiculously egotistic in thinking that in some of these respects I should probably suit the place as well as any one who is likely to be available !

Still, I feel the force of what you say, and I shall probably have an opportunity for a little conversation with you next week. Meanwhile I may say this : that if in the present state of affairs it were thought undesirable to appoint a permanent Censor, and the following suggestion was not altogether unpractical, it would be at your service :

Mr. Kitchin having been unexpectedly appointed to a post which necessitates his resignation of the Censorship, it is thought desirable that no permanent appointment should be made at present ;

As an *ad interim* arrangement the President of Trinity has agreed to perform the Censor's duties without salary till June 1884, if required ;

The Censor's salary would be in the meantime at the disposal of the Delegates for the payment of Tutors, or for such other provision for the students as the University has undertaken to make as soon as possible.

The purpose of this *ad interim* arrangement is to give time to the University to arrange finances and see what kind of permanent provision for the Non-Collegiate students would be most beneficial to their interests and those of the University generally.—Yours sincerely,

J. PERCIVAL.

The proposal was not adopted. But it shows beyond question its author's zeal to make Oxford accessible to poor men. It is also congruous with Percival's preference for a Day School over a Boarding School that he should have considered the Non-Collegiate system capable of such development that through it a large number of men could gain the chief advantages of membership of the University. To have resigned a Headship in order to become Censor of the Unattached Students would have been an almost revolutionary action in the Oxford of that, or indeed of any other, date; and most people will agree with Jowett that it could hardly have resulted in increased usefulness.

Trinity College therefore remained his immediate sphere. The chief development made in that sphere during his reign and its abiding monument was the building of the new quadrangle. For this he himself surrendered a year's salary and persuaded the Fellows to do the same. He also had to give up his stables and large kitchen-garden. The acquisition of Kettel Hall, which stood between Trinity College and Broad Street, was a necessity if the plans were not to be sadly cramped and spoilt. Percival showed admirable persistence and tact in regard to its purchase. It was the property of Oriel College; the Provost and Fellows were at first unwilling to sell. Percival obtained plans from Mr. (now Sir) T. G. Jackson, showing the difference which the possession of Kettel Hall would make. As soon as the Provost and Fellows of Oriel were convinced of the great difference involved for Trinity College, they agreed to the sale, Percival having given the

assurance "that we have no thought of the sale interfering with the present occupancy of the Hall." Many colleges were enlarging their borders at that time. For Trinity there were special difficulties. It needed a man of great determination to overcome them. Percival's methods sometimes created friction; but by the same qualities he saved his College from losing its position by a failure to grow in numbers when such growth was the order of the day.

Those were days of expansion. But it was never of expansion alone that Percival was thinking. Constantly his mind was at work upon the moral and spiritual influences in Oxford which would help to determine the future lives of its students. As he left a visible memorial of his reign at Trinity in the new quadrangle, as well as an invisible memorial in the traditions of the College, so he left an abiding institution in the life of the University. Few influences in Oxford are so important as the Sunday evening sermons for undergraduates in St. Mary's. There undergraduates have the opportunity, Sunday by Sunday, of hearing the Christian doctrine and way of life set forth by its most competent exponents, and many have been set to think afresh or led to dedicate their lives in service by the appeals made on those occasions. The undergraduates who attend the official University sermons are few; the evening sermons are the one spiritual influence steadily directed to the undergraduates of the University as a whole. Those sermons were instituted by Percival when he was President of Trinity. The following is the letter in which he made the proposal to the Vicar of St. Mary's:

TRINITY COLLEGE,
April 7, 1880.

MY DEAR SIR—I hope you will pardon the liberty I take in venturing to intrude upon you with this note.

Being anxious to do some little work for the undergraduates, and having long felt that the Sunday evenings afford an opportunity which might perhaps be turned to good account, I have thought of trying to organise a series of Sunday evening lectures, addresses, or sermons for the next Michaelmas and Hilary terms if I can get promises of help from suitable persons. It is very possible that with your long and large experience of University

life you may think such an experiment likely to fail, but if the proposal commends itself to your judgment, may I ask whether you would be willing to mark your approval by allowing the use of St. Mary's ?

I had thought of 8 o'clock as probably a suitable time, and I should of course be ready to take all the trouble of the business on my own shoulders, giving one or two of the lectures each term myself, and finding lecturers for the other evenings. Such a course would necessarily involve some little expense on account of lighting, warming, cleaning, and attendance, and for all this I should hold myself responsible.

If you approve of the idea you will probably wish to ask various questions before giving an answer to the request I have been so bold as to make. If so, I should be very pleased to call on you at any time convenient to yourself, and meanwhile I must beg you to pardon my intrusion.—I am, my dear sir, yours faithfully,

J. PERCIVAL.

This was the inauguration of one of the most important religious institutions in the life of the University. At first Percival invited the preachers, but the evening sermon survived his departure from Oxford. On February 21, 1909, in a sermon from which quotation has already been made,¹ he said :

I have a singular interest in these, your Sunday evening gatherings in this place of manifold associations. Twenty-eight years ago or thereabouts, by the kindness of the Vicar of this University Church, I was permitted to start and personally to manage these courses of Sunday evening sermons, inviting the preachers, and responsible for all arrangements, and sometimes I may myself have preached to the fathers of some among you. Thus you will readily understand how I see other faces than yours as I look around me, and my thoughts are occupied with crowding memories.

It is probably a small proportion of the Heads of Houses of whom it could be said that their preaching was a vital part of their work. But Percival was not content with organising sermons in the University Church. At Trinity, as at Clifton and Rugby, his influence was concentrated

¹ P. 70.

in his sermons in the Chapel, where he preached once or twice a term. In those sermons, Bishop Robertson writes :

Little was said of anything touching the ecclesiastical side of Christianity, dogmatic or organic, but immense stress was laid on all that went to the building up of life and character, setting us high and exacting aims and spartan severity in following them up. There was little to win or conciliate, but much to search, probe, pull up and stimulate character and will.

It is clear that these sermons greatly impressed both dons and undergraduates. Canon Galpin helps us to picture the scene :

I shall never forget those evenings. The Chapel lighted up in its primitive way by rows of candles fixed on to the pews—the splendid carvings of Grinling Gibbons just catching the gleam here and there—and Percival standing in the President's stall at the west end, his head slightly on one side, his fine, clean-cut features showing up against the candle-light with a strange chiaroscuro effect, his voice retaining still the accent of his northern home as he upheld the sanctities of life and poured out vials of scorn on all that was "low and degraded."

Exactly the same impression is given by the graphic words of Bishop Gore :

His sermons were fine exhibitions. We felt that a great, strong, righteous will was expressing itself amongst us with profound astonishment at our being content to be such fools as we were ; and this was to me very bracing.

Perhaps that is the best summary that could be given of the impression which Percival made at Trinity : " We felt that a great, strong, righteous will was expressing itself amongst us."

Such a will could hardly be satisfied with such an arena. When the Headship of Eton became vacant by the appointment of Dr. Hornby to be Provost, he refused to stand, as he was asked by many friends to do, but let it be known, as Sir William Anson informed Sir Herbert Warren, that he would be willing to undertake the duty ; but the Governors

of Eton were not then inclined to break the old rule of preferring an Etonian or to pass over the obvious Etonian candidate, Dr. Warre. Shortly after this, Harrow became vacant; he was asked to stand, and again refused. The choice fell on another Etonian, Dr. Welldon. In 1886, Rugby was again needing a Headmaster, and the Governors of their own motion invited the man they had twice passed over. On November 17, 1886, the Bishop of Worcester wrote on behalf of the Rugby Governing Body to offer Percival the Headmastership. He immediately decided to accept. The following is the letter in which he gave the news to Professor Robinson Ellis for communication to the Common Room:

TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD,
Nov. 18, 1886.

DEAR ELLIS—I believe Mrs. Percival told you yesterday evening of the offer that had just been made to me and of my acceptance of it. I only returned from Bristol this morning, so I could not write to you earlier myself.

But I feel that I ought to lose no time in letting you know, and through you the other Fellows, that my duties will commence at Rugby after the Easter Vacation—that being so, I should gladly go on with my work here till Easter if that is thought best, but I should like to add that I should be ready to resign the Presidency at such time as the Fellows may think most convenient and most advantageous to the College. There may possibly be disadvantages in deferring the change till the Easter Vacation, and if after deliberation it should seem desirable that a new election should be made earlier, I hope that you will let me know, so that I may fix the date of my formal resignation in accordance with your wishes.

If some one is elected in January, the College will probably allow me to remain in our house till the end of term, or to leave our furniture in it, should we desire to do this, using February and March for the purpose of a holiday.

I cannot conclude this letter without confessing to you that I have accepted the Headmastership with very mixed feelings. We shall all be very sorry to leave Trinity and Oxford.

I am truly grateful to the Fellows for all their kindness, and feel that I owe an especial debt of gratitude to yourself and Woods.—Yours sincerely,

J. PERCIVAL.

Mrs. Percival had, on receipt of a telegram, sent a note the previous day, which called forth the following letter from the Professor :

TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD,
Nov. 18, 1886.

DEAR PERCIVAL—I received a note from Mrs. Percival last evening, at 5, conveying the very unpalatable news that you were going to leave us. To me personally it is quite a heavy blow, but the position of Head of Rugby is probably one of the most important in England, and it would have been folly, I think, if you had rejected it. So I must submit to what I deprecate, but cannot avoid. As a Rugby man I feel *very* glad that you will carry on the best traditions of Arnoldian teaching ; and perhaps with more effect that you were not a Rugby boy. I can only regret the inevitable feeling of dreariness which the country about Rugby can hardly fail to produce ; in that respect Oxford and Clifton are very greatly to be preferred to your future, perhaps your permanent, residence.

Your acceptance of Rugby seems to show that the comparative rest of Oxford has restored you to your healthy tone of body and mind ; which at the time of your election in 1878 had visibly suffered. I earnestly hope that the renewal of school work will not be dangerous to you.

Speaking of Trinity College, I feel myself how often this must have displeased and even deeply offended you. Some scenes at College meetings have left a painful impression on my memory ; and I have from time to time tried to express to Mrs. Percival my sympathy. But, after all, it is most satisfactory to reflect that your Presidency must for ever be remembered as epoch-making in the history of the College ; our new buildings, I firmly believe, would never have risen without your active and steady support ; and the numbers of the College have increased so conspicuously during your Headship as to have made it in every way more notable and prosperous than it can ever remember to have been.

As regards the time of your resignation, I should not fancy that any of the Fellows would be anxious to hasten it. I have not indeed spoken to any of them yet about it ; but as you could not well leave before Easter, it seems highly improbable that any one will wish to hurry it on.

It is somewhat tantalising that the new President's house will never be occupied by you and Mrs. Percival. For her, indeed, Rugby will be a not altogether acceptable change.

Again expressing to you my profound satisfaction that you have been our Pope longer than most who have held the papal chair, and that like all the successful pontiffs you have stamped your activity on the external form and look of the College.—I remain, dear Percival, yours very truly,

ROBINSON ELLIS.

CHAPTER IV

RUGBY

It was quite natural that the Governing Body of Rugby School should in 1874 have chosen Dr. Jex Blake for the Headmastership. He was an old Rugbeian, a former Rugby master, and at that time the conspicuously successful Principal of Cheltenham. The grounds for the choice were obvious. The situation at Rugby required the most delicate handling. Percival had only been on the staff there for two years, and that short period had been twelve years before. A man with intimate knowledge of the School and its traditions would have a great advantage. Moreover, conciliatory methods were called for. The Governors' choice was justified by the history of the next few years. Peace and harmony returned; numbers rose again; funds were collected in abundance for the greatly needed extension of buildings. The four years of chaos and disaster became only an interlude and a memory.

In 1886 Dr. Jex Blake announced his resignation on his acceptance of the Rectory of Almchurch. The Rugby Governors, without inviting other candidatures, approached the President of Trinity College, Oxford.

The Bishop of Worcester to Dr. Percival

HARTLEBURY, KIDDERMINSTER,
Nov. 17, 1886.

MY DEAR DR. PERCIVAL—I have been requested by the Governing Body of Rugby School to invite you to undertake the office of Headmaster of the School on the retirement of

Dr. Jex Blake at Easter 1887. They are not unmindful of the position which you now hold after many years' service in the work of education ; but they are willing to hope that you may not refuse to resume such work at Rugby ; and they feel all confidence that the best interests of the School will be safe in your keeping.

May I add my own personal wish, as Chairman of the Governing Body, that I may have the pleasure of announcing to them your acceptance of our invitation.—Yours very truly,

H. WORCESTER.

Dr. Percival to the Bishop of Worcester

To the LORD BISHOP OF WORCESTER.

Nov. 18, 1886.

MY DEAR LORD—I will not attempt to express my sense of the honour the Governing Body has done me, but will only say in reply to your letter that I gladly and gratefully accept the trust which you have put into my hands. I am aware that in writing this I undertake a great responsibility, and that I may need the indulgence of the Governing Body and of my Colleagues, but such powers and energies as I possess will be devoted without reservation to the service of the School.

I cannot conclude without thanking you for the very kind words you have added to your official communication, and no one could come to the work more conscious of the deep debt he owes to the School and of what is required of its Headmaster.—Yours very truly,

J. PERCIVAL.

The appointment evoked universal applause. *The Times* celebrated the event with a Leading Article. Letters of hope and of congratulation and delight arrived by shoals. Some are here quoted as an indication of the estimate which men well qualified to judge had formed of Percival.

From Mr. H. Lee Warner

THE PADDOCKS,
SWAFFHAM,
Nov. 17.

MY DEAR PERCIVAL—I earnestly hope that to-day will see you invited to come over to Macedonia and help us. We are not heathen, but we are rather slowbellies, and we want the calm

firmness and quiet resolution which made Clifton a rival to Rugby, now to reverse the operation. You are indeed blest if you have the strength to undertake that task : for Rugby is a place one never tires of loving, and to which one can only give one's best work. And I believe that you are the only man that Rugby will welcome unitedly, though (forgive an aside) I hope that some of the staff will only stay long enough to welcome you.

Jex Blake will leave you good material, and a school more simple and moral (I believe) than most schools. But "Town" wants organising and enlivening; the forms want to be diminished in numbers; the Chapel wants a voice that can force itself on boys' attentions; the spirit of work which Jex first infused into the VIth wants a fresh pair of bellows.

Forgive my writing thus at length. It is very impudent, but I do love the place very much and I long to hear you have undertaken it.—Ever yours,

H. LEE WARNER.

From the Headmaster of Clifton

CLIFTON COLLEGE,
CLIFTON, BRISTOL,
Nov. 17/86.

DEAR PERCIVAL—I thought as much. I saw Temple the other day and pressed this on him. I am truly glad. No one else could so instantly restore public confidence in Rugby. You will have ten years' more of good work in you, and put Rugby on a sound footing and in excellent spirits.—My best wishes to you.—Very truly yours,

J. M. WILSON.

From Mr. H. G. Dakyns

3 UPPER BELGRAVE ROAD,
CLIFTON, BRISTOL,
Nov. 18, 1886.

MY DEAR DR. AND MRS. PERCIVAL—I write a line to offer to you both and all our best wishes and congratulations. Unless there is anything in the step which causes pain or hesitation to yourselves (and I feel sure it must to some degree be painful to uproot yourselves from Oxford), I for my part am wholly satisfied and rejoice greatly. As a friend I am well pleased that you should have a new sphere of action open to you, and that an ancient and laudable ambition to sit in the seat of Arnold should be satisfied. As a schoolmaster and Englishman I applaud the wisdom of the selection. As a Rugby man I dance about and am mad, and

can only sing out (to the scandal of my more impassive and more ultra-Cliftonian friends) *magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo*. It does really, I think, begin again—the great order of the years since you began your great work here twenty-five years ago—the great order of the still longer æon since Temple left Rugby—or shall I not rather say since Arnold was removed? And I do devoutly hope and expect and believe that another Rugby will ere long arise, and that you will not only have created one school at a time of life when some thought you too young, but at an age when some, judging by their own inertness and senilities, may look upon you as too old, you will recreate another. So may the blessings of Heaven keep you safely. God speed your work and guard your goings.—Your affectionate friend,

H. G. DAKYNS.

From the Archdeacon of Bristol

Nov. 19.86.

MY DEAR PERCIVAL—The Leader in yesterday's *Times* took me by surprise, and it was only on second thoughts that I began to see how this offer had come to be accepted.

But the more I considered it, the more I seemed to understand that it would be in many ways a relief to you. Arnold used to quote Herodotus, ἐχθίστη ὁδὺν πολλὰ φρονέοντα μηδενὸς κρατέειν.

Here we are construing those words every day: seeing clearly how this Cathedral Chapter might be to this City of 250,000 souls a great centre of spiritual energy, and how its crazy constitution hinders it. And at *Oxford* I can well believe—though in less degree—your daily experience is of like kind. "Saxum grave Sisypheus urget."

At Rugby there will be the delight of seeing progress—uphill progress no doubt, but still progress.

Then again your life won't be any longer a divided life, divided between duties that are hard to reconcile. For Mrs. Fox tells me to-day, what selfishly I am sorry to hear, that you mean to give up your home here.

You have helped us so much here by strengthening our protest against the curse of Cathedrals—selfishness in high places—and by helping to knit together in some faint degree the interests of our Church and the interests of the City—that we miss you much in our counsels.

What is to become of us I know not!

Anyhow, the manner of the offer must have given you unalloyed pleasure. And to me as an old Rugbeian it is delightful

to think that the School will be under a master who will view his work as a cure of souls.—Ever yours faithfully.

J. P. NORRIS.

From the Principal of Somerville

SOMERVILLE HALL, OXFORD.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT—I *ought* to congratulate you on your appointment, but I can only bring myself to think how fortunate Rugby is that you have consented to take it. But it is very hard to see how you are to be spared from Oxford, where you have done and are doing so very much. No one does so much for Oxford as you do, and every wise and important measure has been promoted and pushed forward by your strength and influence. I feel as if everything would come to a standstill now.

Somerville is but one of the many works you have begun and carried through, and no one knows better than I do what it owes to you and the time and trouble you have so freely given to help us on. My only hope is that you will not desert us now, for it would be the greatest misfortune to us if you did not continue to take the lead as you have done.

I must entreat you not to let your leaving Oxford make any difference to us.

I have not had courage to tell any one here of your appointment, but I think all will share in my *dismay*. Fortunately Rugby is not very far off, and you will be much in Oxford, I hope, but I cannot really face the idea of your leaving Oxford yet.—Yours very sincerely,

M. SHAW LEFEVRE.

From Mr. Arthur Sidgwick

WOODSTOCK ROAD, OXFORD.

MY DEAR PRESIDENT—(Not long to be so addressed)—I was truly sorry to find you out when I called—the first free moment—to shake your hand to-day.

I can't help thinking of that day when I was in bed with malaria at Perugia (19 Feb. 1874), being an exile from Hayman, and had the telegram that Jex was appointed at Rugby—and how I turned my face to the wall that it was not you.

Since then I have learned to do more justice to Jex Blake, as a generous man, a sincere man, a brave man, and a good man.

Your task will be harder now than in 1874, inasmuch that almost any man who came after Hayman must have succeeded,

at least at first, if he was honest and a gentleman ; what had to be set right there was a chaos of which boys, men, and the world were equally tired. But now Rugby is a good school, but what is wanted is spirit and a leader. It is hard ; but it is because we all felt and feel that if you would you could give us what we wanted more than any man, that we have all been hoping to see this day, and now we see it—we know—I say we, for I truly believe that those who make up the real Rugby all over England are united on this matter—that it must cost you something to take up the heavy work and responsibility again, after you have already done a work enough for an ordinary man ; and we give you from our hearts the gratitude which such an effort deserves, in full measure beforehand.

I shall hope to see you presently ; but, after all, I can say better on paper perhaps the thanks and the joy and the hope of which I am full.—Yours ever verily,

A. SIDGWICK.

With such greetings to cheer him, the brilliant founder of a new school set himself to the task of ruling and rejuvenating an ancient school, proud beyond almost all others of its own traditions. He was fully conscious of both the advantages and the difficulties which such a pride of tradition brings with it. Near the beginning of his reign he wrote to his Clifton friend, Mr. E. M. Oakeley :

SCHOOL HOUSE, RUGBY,
May 4, 1887.

MY DEAR OAKELEY—At present I find this place very absorbing. I cannot attempt to describe to you how kindly I have been received by the masters. They seem determined to do everything they can to make it easy and pleasant for me : all which fills me with some tremors lest they should be grievously disappointed bye and bye ; but I must do my best. You would say that it is natural for a man who feels himself in the presence of Arnold and Temple, both ready to call him to account for his stewardship, to feel somewhat nervous.¹

¹ The following letter from a pillar of the Rugby world brings together the three names in a way that will be of interest to Rugbeians. Percival had written from Hereford to ask Mr. and Mrs. Whitelaw to stay at the Palace during the Archbishop's stay, when he was to be there for the opening of the Cathedral Library ; he had also asked for help in the composition of an address on Dr. Arnold. Whitelaw replied as follows :

The life has begun to run its usual course, but we have decided to go back to one or two ancient ways ; so that I hope people will look on me as a returned colonist of Conservative proclivities. —Ever yours affectionately,

J. PERCIVAL.

Accounts given by Rugbeians who were in the School at the time of the transition show plainly that, when the prosperity, lost between 1870 and 1874, had been restored, a period of comparative quiescence had set in. After the exuberant vitality of the 'sixties, and the alarums and excursions of the early 'seventies, this was natural enough. Indeed, a period of consolidation was needed before new progress could be undertaken. Such times, however, are the most dangerous.

Outwardly all went well ; but, as always happens at a school where energy so much as flags for an instant, the general tone was sinking. One reliable witness, who was in the School-house from 1882 till 1887, and soon after returned to Rugby as a tutor, declares :

ROSE BANK,
WEST MALVERN,
April 20, 1897.

DEAR BISHOP PERCIVAL—My wife and I had arranged before your letter came this morning (as I was tired with bicycling to Tewkesbury yesterday) to go over by train to Hereford, see in any case the Cathedral, and take our chance of seeing you. I wish we had been fortunate enough to find you. It is exceedingly good of you to ask us to stay at the time of the Archbishop's visit. There is nothing we should like better. But after we leave here we have two visits to make before term begins, and we must be away from here next Wednesday at latest. However, I certainly mean to contrive, if possible, just to see you somehow before I go.

I am afraid my ideas about Arnold would be of little use. I have often and often reproached myself for not feeling more distinctly and directly stimulated and inspired by the thought of teaching in the place where he taught. I say to myself, "there thou dost lie in the gloom of the autumn evening," and am not specially stirred by it, except as I am stirred by the earnestness and sincerity of the poem. And I suppose the School—the boys—as a rule are not conscious of Arnold as an influence in their lives at all. But then I console myself with thinking that, consciously or unconsciously, we are all of us influenced by him, and powerfully influenced, every day. Whether we at Rugby are more influenced by him than other schools, I do not know. It is a much grander and more inspiring thought that all English schools are influenced by him (in proportion as they are good) equally with us : and that all, in propor-

When I first went to Rugby there was a good deal of bullying and a tradition of much worse things in the recent past. The bullying was easing off while I was there; I don't think it was merely that I grew bigger. And there was a great deal of foul talk and immorality—a great deal.

When I came back in 1890 the tone had quite changed, and I believe immorality was practically dead.

I was only one term under Percival, and that term he was looking round and seeing how things were—though one could feel there was a strong hand over us; but next term he began to clean out and did it thoroughly.

There can be no doubt that Percival was surprised and disappointed to find how low the tone of Rugby had become.¹ Indeed he was broken-hearted, for Rugby

tion as they are doing good work, are working with his ideas, on his lines—consciously or not. And even consciously, I suppose there *are* boys (and masters) of imagination who feel his presence, both directly sometimes and as reaching them through others. It must be, even if we do not always or often think of it, that in many ways he caters as a factor into the atmosphere of the place, and so still “performs the word of the Spirit in whom he lives.” I am thinking as I write of the work which you did there: how you purified and refined the moral atmosphere. I never cease to be thankful for it: I feel continually that it is good for us to be there. The air is wholesome. It is permeated by good influences—*αἶθραι ἀπὸ χρηστῶν τόπων φέρουσαι ὑγίειαν*. There are—I don't know how many boys there are to whom in my thoughts I stand continually in Arnold's phrase “cap in hand.” And I know that it is no disparagement, quite the reverse, to the new and original and moral impulse which you brought to the life of the School, to think of your work in it as most truly a continuation of Arnold's work.

I do not like the bust of Arnold which has been set up in our midst. But the Archbishop's visit (for the unveiling of it) was most inspiring. He spoke with astonishing eloquence and fire, and with great simplicity, dwelling on just the essential thing—the paramount importance of moral and spiritual aims. He spoke as one who had been himself inspired by Arnold. I am sure his words must have gone home to many boys, and done something for the time—done a great deal—to bring the School into a new and living relation with Arnold himself. I know that they were really stirred by him—his sermon, his speech, his presence.

I have rambled on: I hope I have not written too much.—Ever sincerely yours,

R. WHITELAW.

¹ For the story of the moral reformation of Rugby, I am mainly indebted to Mr. G. F. Bradby, from whose account of Percival's reign there, contained in an impression which was sent to me in the form, not of a history, but of a private letter, I shall quote freely in the course of my narrative.

had always been his ideal school. He realised that he would have to do a great deal in a short time. He could not wait to develop his policy. Had he been a younger man he would probably have settled the moral question before he went on to the intellectual one. As it was, reforms in all directions had to be pushed forward simultaneously ; the inevitable result was the maximum of friction. He had to remake Rugby with a narrow time-limit. How far such thoughts had been from his mind when he accepted the Headmastership is shown by the fact that when asked what he intended to do there he replied, " I don't know yet. The one thing I do know is that I am going to introduce a pension-scheme for masters." That pension-scheme was never even outlined—so great was the rush of unexpected problems. It is astonishing that in the midst of that pressure he was able to build so surely and strongly ; there was no opportunism in his work ; he was always following a consistent policy.

The first real insight into his character which the School as a whole was able to get was in the Lent Term of 1888, when he expelled five boys on the spot, striking their names publicly off the School list, and sent away many others at the end of the term. His power lay in the fact that he really did hate evil and never believed that it was inevitable. He lashed vice itself with white-hot scorn and disgust ; and then with slow, deliberate strokes he beat the " moral cowardice " of the majority who disliked the thing but were responsible for it by their cowardice. " Nobody who was present at that gathering in New Big School will ever forget it. One could feel the School wincing and writhing—the tall stern figure on the platform (he seemed about forty feet high), the white face lit up with intense but controlled moral indignation—the pause, and then the word or phrase that fell like a lash. And behind it all the feeling of power and righteousness and judgment to come. The School went out smarting, some of them angry, all of them frightened. Like Lady Macbeth, they had suddenly realised in the face of another the horror of their own deeds." ¹

¹ G. F. Bradby.

Percival fully accepted Arnold's principle : " The first, second, and third duty of a Headmaster is to get rid of unpromising material."

During the former reign, minor athletic distinctions had greatly multiplied. Percival regarded these as unwholesome, tending to give a privileged status to boys who had done nothing to deserve it and were likely to abuse it. He swept them away wholesale. The first football distinction is a " flannels "—dating from the time when to obtain this distinction was to be allowed to change into flannels for the game ! It is now represented by the substitution of black stockings for grey on the football field. In 1887 it also carried with it the right to wear a thin gold braid on the house-cap. No act of Percival's was so unpopular as the abolition of that braid. But the suppression of minor " swells " was an important factor in the restoration of strong moral discipline.

Fundamental to his whole scheme was the revival of a sense of corporate responsibility in the Sixth Form, which he restored to its historic room from the place in the new building to which Jex Blake had moved it. Very early he had opportunity and occasion to insist on the responsibility of the Sixth for moral discipline. One morning, after a short pause, he began to speak in his most northern accent, which was always intensified when he was roused. " The other day," he said, " an auld Rugbeian came down to this school ; he proposed to send his boy to his auld house. He went into his auld house ; and he was met with such a flood of filthy language that he said, ' I shall not send my boy to that house.' " Then he glared round, and the Sixth Form had the experience, to them a novel one, of feeling that somehow they were regarded as collectively responsible.

Along with the direct reformation of morals went the intellectual development. In part the two were, as always at a school, inseparable. Idleness is neglect of duty, and is therefore immoral in itself ; it also leads to immorality of other kinds. When Percival first came to Rugby the School as a whole was very idle. He gradually introduced " that bugbear alike of the educational idealist and of the idle boy

—test questions on paper at the beginning of a lesson.”¹ He created quite a sensation by treating persistent idleness as a moral fault and flogging a boy who had got a very bad half-term report. But he was determined not only to insist on more industry but to raise the level of intellectual quality. To this end he increased the value of and number of scholarships, squeezing the necessary money out of the masters, chiefly the house masters, after collecting what he could from Old Rugbeians in memory of Lord Derby, Theodore Walrond, and others.

From the first he took a keen interest in games, as he had done at Clifton. Mr. H. C. Bradby, now a Rugby House-master, was astonished at being sent for to explain the mysteries of “Belows, II Belows, and III Belows”—the names given to the ordinary inter-House games at Rugby. He insisted on knowing on what grounds they played, who captained them, what clothes they wore, who paid for the footballs, the cricket material, and so forth. In order to improve the quality and raise the status of cricket, he brought Tom Emmett to Rugby as cricket professional. Visitors to the Headmaster’s study were often surprised to hear the old Yorkshireman discoursing within on the whole theory of batting.

But games, though he cared for them, were only a part of his system. He was constantly walking about the Close in his top hat, with uplifted chin, watching football or cricket. A glance would be enough for him to mark down any manifestation of “bad form,” and he would mentally note the individual or the House. He had an unerring eye for the unwholesome boy. In the Close, or from his place in Chapel as he watched the boys filing out, he formed his impressions, and they were wonderfully accurate. To some extent they guided his disciplinary action. On one occasion he sentenced two boys to a birching for being absent from luncheon one Sunday in order to go birds'-nesting. At the request of the Head of the House, a House Tutor intervened, telling him that there was a general feeling that the punishment was excessive and unjust. Percival thanked the tutor

¹ G. F. Bradby.

and commuted the sentence. But the subsequent history of the culprits led the tutor to think that Percival's first severity was justified. He had a keen eye for symptoms, and could diagnose the disease behind the apparently trivial or isolated symptom ; he knew that acts of a certain kind at school are seldom isolated acts. Some breaches of discipline are harmless ; some are usually indicative of general laxity. Such incidents Percival described in a favourite word as " symptomatic."

He had no qualms about the appeal to fear as an element in the moral training of boys ; he employed it on principle. And he certainly employed it with effect. " The rod in his left hand was no toy weapon,"¹ and its terrors were greatly multiplied by the scathing remarks which he was commonly supposed to address to the victim between the strokes. " It'll hurt ye, but it's for your good ;" " I mean ye to remember it every day of your life." The methods were not those of an age when men are to be found who solemnly discuss whether any child should be taught anything until he has expressed a desire to learn it. But he did what he set out to do, and Rugby will for ever honour him.

In everything he relied greatly on Mrs. Percival, regarding her as fully a part of himself and in some sense as his interpreter. She was by nature expansive as he was reticent, and he often left her to say what he found it difficult to say. Thus he sought to unbend by proxy. She was the only person on whom he was really dependent, and without her he would have been very different. She was the channel through which he was in touch with the human, as distinct from the official, side of his surroundings. Moreover she did much to make him intelligible to others. She created an atmosphere of intimacy and cordiality in which his shyness relaxed, and in the School House drawing-room there was no sense of austerity.

At Rugby, as at Clifton, Percival showed astonishing capacity in the choice of assistant masters. He did indeed inherit some men of special distinction, chief among them being the renowned scholar and truly great teacher, Robert

¹ G. F. Bradby.

Whitelaw. But his own selection raised the level even of the Rugby tradition. Several of the men whom he chose became distinguished Headmasters of other schools. The two "Benches" of the Sixth were taken conjointly by himself and George Smith (now Headmaster of Dulwich) in the case of the Upper Bench, and J. L. Paton (now High Master of Manchester Grammar School) in the case of the Lower. When, in Dr. James's time, George Smith left to become Headmaster of Merchiston, he was succeeded by another of Percival's men, Frank Fletcher, afterwards Master of Marlborough and now Headmaster of Charterhouse. The present Dean of Hereford, lately Principal of Cheltenham, and Dr. David, who was one of Percival's successors both at Clifton and at Rugby, were also among those added to the staff by Percival. The list might be greatly lengthened, but only one more name shall be given—G. F. Bradby—poet, historian, idealist, satirist, the unfailing source of mental stimulus to many generations of boys and masters to whom he is linked in ties of the most delightful friendship.

It took the ex-President of Trinity a little time to recover the sense of a school atmosphere in matters intellectual. At first he expected the Sixth to be up to the Oxford "Greats" standard, and to find "learning" in the assistant masters. But this did not last long. He brought a steady flow of new masters—young, active men with brains—straight from the University. He had no belief in "previous experience"; he liked to get men fresh and train them. "He kept his eye on them; came in occasionally to examine their Forms and ask impossible questions, *e.g.* from forms near the bottom of the school whose history period was the reign of George III. 'In what order did the American colonies revolt?'—expressing grave dissatisfaction when nobody could give the answer. Pinpricks were a part of his policy for keeping young men up to the mark. Any one who sent him a letter or a batch of papers to which the scent of tobacco clung, would receive a 'little note' by return, containing such phrases as 'low undergraduate tone.' He knew all about his younger masters, their discipline, and their activities,

and always backed them, right or wrong, if they were genuine triers. When one went to him after a grievous collapse of discipline and offered to resign, he only smiled and told him not to be discouraged. His weakness on this side was that he was always afraid of praising and could never unbend ; it was a kind of shyness that made it impossible for him to be intimate, coupled with a fear of showing partiality and being 'unfaithful to his duties.' Even where relations were closest, they seldom got beyond official intimacy—free exchange of ideas about school problems. He was not a man who could sit in an arm-chair in front of the fire and let himself go. And he had no small talk. But he liked people who talked to him naturally and were not afraid of him.

"Once when I went into the study he looked up with a smile and, handing me a letter, said, 'Read that.' It was from X. Y., and began 'Dear Dr. Percival, the time has now come when either Z. or I must leave this School.' [Both X. Y. and Z. were pillars of the Rugby world.] 'It's the third time,' said Percival, with another smile.

"A considerable increase in the numbers on the staff, due to the expansion of the Modern Side and Army Class and the claims of Natural Science, added a financial problem to the many others he was called upon to face. The question of salaries is always a thorny one, especially where vested interests make any drastic solution impossible. Percival was laudably anxious to reduce expenses and keep the school fees within the means of the professional classes. But, though personally generous with what was his own, it was generally felt that as a steward of public funds he was inclined in the matter of salaries to push the claims of economy to a point at which they became irritating and even unjust. Perhaps some instinct for a bargain, inherited with his northern blood, influenced him unconsciously in matters of this kind, where he was thinking in terms of the institution rather than of the individual. Certainly the revised scheme which he rushed through at the close of his reign failed to remove a sense of grievance and proved unsatisfactory in the working." ¹

¹ G. F. Bradby.

An impression of the result of his work at Rugby is given in the following words of his successor in the Headmastership, Dr. H. A. James, now President of St. John's College, Oxford :

It is no small addition to the problems and difficulties of a Headmaster to find, on his accession to office, that he has to arrest a fall in numbers, to restore public confidence, to re-organise discipline, to create new ideals of work. It is true that Dr. Percival, on becoming Headmaster of Rugby, was not confronted by such a task in anything like the same degree as his predecessor, Dr. Jex Blake, had been ; but none the less, there was much left to be done in the way of reform, and Percival brought to the emergency the same power of organisation and of stimulus, the same high standard of duty and of far-reaching activity, which had stood him in such good stead as Headmaster of Clifton. The consequence was that when, on his appointment to the Bishopric of Hereford, I was privileged to succeed him at Rugby, I found little or nothing to be attempted beyond the continued maintenance of the high traditions which he had so sedulously developed. He left me a loyal and capable staff of assistant-masters, and an equally loyal and capable Sixth Form, both alike largely imbued with his own sense of responsibility and of the possibilities, as well as the dangers, of public school life. The Arnold tradition of governing through the Sixth had, in his eight years of rule, received a new stimulus and a new life.

It is by no means easy, in recalling the good tone which prevailed at Rugby in 1895, to estimate accurately to what extent it was due respectively to the old traditions of the school, the influence of assistant-masters like Robert Whitelaw, and the personality of Dr. Percival. But there were two or three special characteristics of the school in which I seemed more particularly to trace his handiwork.

(1) In no other public school with which I have been connected (and I have served at four), was there so much private reading, outside their prescribed work, done by the higher boys. In the School House alone, I remember well one boy who read through Gibbon, another who grappled with philosophical works of by no means an elementary character, a third who was an Egyptologist, and who taught himself Sanskrit, a fourth who, though an excellent classical scholar, spent much of his leisure on micro-photographs on scientific lines. These are only examples. Nowhere else have I found so high a standard of knowledge and power of thought, alike general and specialised, as in the Sixth

Form at Rugby ; and I cannot but think that this tradition, which, I am clear, was one of the secrets of the success of the school in the Scholarship examinations at such colleges as Balliol, Trinity (Cambridge), and elsewhere, was due largely to Percival's insistence, in school sermons and addresses, in his teaching and private conversations, upon the duty of individual reading, left to a boy's own choice.

(2) Much has been said about the undue worship of athletics at public schools. Dr. Percival did not undervalue them ; after all, they have killed bullying, and taught the spirit of fair play and of putting the side before the individual. But he did much to keep them in their proper place : for one instance, he abolished many of the marks of distinction which the minor athletes were allowed to wear. That was, naturally, an unpopular thing to do ; but he was, as a rule, not only absolutely fearless, but entirely regardless of outside opinion, so long as he was doing his duty and consulting the interests of the school.

(3) He knew his boys ; and his knowledge helped to mould their character and to raise the tone of the school. I remember asking him, just before I went to Rugby, to tell me something of the boys in the School-house at the time. He sent me a printed House-list with quite short notes of each boy's character as he conceived it. It showed, even in that brief form, how well he had measured their individual capacities and influences.

I am sure that he was a great Headmaster, and that Rugby owes him a deep debt of gratitude. One master, who had been a Rugby boy under Temple, and a master under Percival both at Clifton and at Rugby, told me that he thought him in no way unworthy to take rank with that great predecessor in his capacity as ruler of a public school. No greater praise could have been given him ; and I for one think it was deserved.

H. A. JAMES.

A record from the boys' side, of the time when Percival had moulded the school to his liking, is supplied by Professor H. E. Butler, who became Head of the School-house in the year after Percival's departure :

When I entered the School-house in 1891, Dr. Percival had been Headmaster for more than four years, and had already restored Rugby to a position she had not held since the 'sixties. I therefore saw him not as the reformer or reorganiser, but as the just and wise ruler of a community to which he had restored order and prosperity. It is naturally impossible for me to

distinguish between him as Headmaster and Housemaster, since I knew him in both capacities. But such a distinction is unnecessary. A member of the School-house was privileged to feel his influence more directly and to regard him as more approachably human, but he was the same in both capacities, and what is true of him as a Housemaster is true of him as Headmaster.

I do not think that any boy ever approached him without a certain feeling of awe, due to his magnificent presence and the sense of power that both look and voice inspired. He was born to command, and perhaps, born radical though he was, he would have shown autocratic tendencies in whatever sphere of life he had been placed : for compromise was wholly alien to his nature. But under the austere surface there was, in spite, at times, of appearances, a real sympathy, abundance of kindness, and a genuine sense of humour. Above all, his simplicity of character was no less remarkable than its strength. If his rule revealed an almost despotic firmness and austerity, it was based on trust, on a frank delegation of responsibility and a comprehension of human weakness. He was trusted absolutely. To play him false would have been next to impossible for any of those to whom he looked for the maintenance of discipline, and no Headmaster ever had more loyal support from his Sixth Form. Even outside the inner circle of boys who came into immediate contact with him, though there could not exist the same feeling of confidence or affection, there was no mistaking his influence. His personality was so strong, his idealism and manliness so manifest, that there were few who did not undergo his influence in varying degree.

His sermons were probably over the heads of many, for he never talked down to his audience, and there was perhaps a certain monotony of insistence on certain duties and aspects of school life, which was not lessened by the somewhat monotonous intonation of his fine north-country voice. But he could rise to heights of real eloquence, and few that heard him will easily forget his sermon on the loss of the *Victoria*, or the last which he delivered as Headmaster, while to the older and cleverer boys his preaching was a real source of interest and inspiration. But if his pulpit utterances failed, to some extent, to make a general appeal, he was at his best when speaking informally to his House or to the School on moral questions or matters of discipline. His language was frank, well-chosen and direct, utterly devoid of all trace of sentimentality, and inspired by an exalted common sense ; and behind it all was felt a moral fervour and idealism of a rare and peculiar intensity, as a result of which the influence of his words on such occasions was unmistakable.

For real evil-doing he had no mercy, and he was a terror to the evil-doer ; but if he was stern, he was also inexorably just. His anger was terrible, not because it was violent or explosive, but in virtue of a certain quality of white heat and of the power which he possessed to inspire the conviction that his anger was just. Like all men he made mistakes. But they were in minor matters. His denunciation to the School-house of Hot Cross Buns on the ground that they were " a relic of paganism and an excuse for guzzling," or his regulations as to the exact length of " footer shorts," may have caused irreverent amusement or ill-disguised irritation. But in his general control, and as regards all the bigger things that really mattered, as a disciplinarian he was unsurpassable.

The same thoroughness characterised his teaching. A sound rather than an elegant scholar, he insisted on an exactitude of preparation which was probably unique even in an exceptionally well-taught school : he was clear, lucid and unfaltering in his translation and exegesis ; there was nothing mechanical about his teaching, still less any trace of cramming. He was, however, sound rather than inspiring, though in dealing with an author after his own heart, *e.g.* St. Paul, he could be intensely interesting. And he certainly instilled into his Sixth a standard of industry that indirectly influenced the whole attitude of the School towards intellectual work.

In his personal relations with boys he was uniformly kind and sympathetic without being expansive. He had no trivial small talk, and kept games in their proper place, though he realised their value and had a genuine interest in cricket. To many it is probable he gave the impression of a certain coldness. But he was always natural and simple ; there was nothing formal or pedagogic about him, and though he was undeniably felt to be alarming, his real and unfailing sympathy were such that few would have shrunk from going to him when in difficulty or distress.

He was perhaps the last of the older and best type of Headmaster. The average of headmasters is probably as high to-day as ever it was, ἡρώων δὲ γένος κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει.

His departure from Rugby came with a sense of shock to all those who had come under his immediate influence : they felt that a power was passing from their midst, and to-day many of them still feel that the debt which they owe their old Headmaster is one which is beyond price or estimate.

This impression may be supplemented by the account

which Mr. Arthur Davies gives of his Divinity teaching ; He writes :

What I chiefly remember of Percival is his teaching of the Bible, especially of the Old Testament, to the Sixth, and the fearless and inspiring way in which he gave us the results of the Higher Criticism. I remember essays we had to write on The Discrepancies between the Gospels in the story of the Resurrection ; and on the remark of some bishop (was it not ?) that the Sermon on the Mount could not be applied to international relations. But perhaps the lesson that I most clearly recollect was when we read the story of Jael and Deborah's praise of Jael's conduct. " She spoke," said Percival, " as if Jael deserved the blessing of God. To-day, if we heard of such conduct, we should say that it was inspired, not by God, but rather by the devil." And so we were introduced to the idea of a progressive revelation of God, an idea which Percival developed when we read with him the psalms and the prophets, and learnt by heart many of their most beautiful passages.

I heard in after years that he was supposed to have " shaken " our " simple " faith. I imagine he really helped to make it wholesome and reasonable and strong.

With his Clifton experience fresh in his mind, he set himself early in his reign to accomplish one great reform. The " Town " at Rugby is now a " House " ranking as the full equal of the Boarding Houses. The number of day boys in the School is only about equal to that of one House, and it is not possible to avoid some sense that a boy in the " Town " gets less of the full life of the School than a member of one of the other Houses. But all that was possible Percival did. Before he came the Town boys were not allowed to play games in the Close. Mr. Paton tells how, when he first became Town " Tutor "—the Town boys had formerly been attached to School-house Tutors—the Town boys had no resting-place of their own ; if they went for a run, they had no place to put their coats and sweaters, using, in fact, the side door-step of a shop (Pepperday's) and the cleaners' room in New Big School, which was no more than a magnified cupboard. Percival, believing in the combination of home life and the Public School tradition, set himself steadily to improve the status of the " Town."

When he left, it never occurred to any one to regard it as other than one among the Houses, joining as a House in all games and competitions ; hardly any one even remembered that it had ever been anything else.

Percival relied greatly on the impression which he could create by addresses to the School or to any section of it ; and well he might. The Rugby term usually began on a Thursday or Friday, the boys returning in time for evening prayers at 9.30 on one of those days. At morning Chapel on the Friday or Saturday, as the case might be, he spoke for a few minutes from the pulpit, in addition to the sermon or the afternoon of the first Sunday of term. So he recalled the School to a sense of its corporate life and the individual responsibilities involved in it. It is probably true that the senior boys at a good school have a considerably higher standard during term than in the holidays. At home they are not in the same way responsible for boys junior to themselves or for the general life of a society, and are justified in spending their time chiefly in amusement ; at school they are responsible for a quite perceptible influence, and many of them have also definite spheres of responsibility allotted to them. Upon these senior boys the well-being of the school chiefly depends ; to recall them to the sense of the school life and its claims at the outset of every term was a settled point in Percival's policy.

But it was not only the senior boys who were in his mind. After breakfast, on the first day of term, all but new boys were sent to their form-rooms of the previous term ; the names of those who were promoted were read out, and these adjourned to their new forms. When the new forms were thus assembled, the term's time-table was dictated, and also the list of books required. While this was going on, all new boys went to New Big School. There the names were "called over" by the Headmaster, and as each boy answered, the keen, searching eyes were fixed on him for some seconds. After this came an allocution. On the occasion when I was one of the new boys, I remember that he spoke for some time in a genial and kindly manner about the opportunities and even the delights of life at a Public School. Then the tone

abruptly changed, and the north-country accent became more pronounced. "There are many bad boys here; there is a lot of evil in the place." The words of the warning that followed I cannot recall, but they were of prophetic earnestness. At the end came a ray of comfort in the assurance that it was good for us to have temptations to face, and that if we did our part we should have strengthened our characters in addition to serving the School. Then came a pause; a concentrated glare; a rapid turn, and he was at the door. But he was not gone; he had passed the door, and it was nearly closed; then it swung open again, the magnificent white head reappeared, and the voice, a good deal raised, cut the silence like a knife: "Eh, I shall be watching you every day of your lives." The door banged, and this time he was gone. The School Marshal told us our forms and how to find the form-rooms; we moved thither a somewhat cowed set of little boys, feeling quite as small as we were.

His discipline was absolutely firm, and to evil-doers he was a terror. He had, moreover, a deceptive trick of smiling when he was angry—a cold, steely smile. This warning signal appeared unfailingly if a boy produced a plainly invented excuse; but it was often taken for a sign of encouragement, leading the culprit to extend the tangled web which could only increase his undoing. Perhaps this had been the beginning of a scene once witnessed by an assistant master who came in by the turret-door, that leads from the study to the Close, and was asked to wait a moment. He found a boy pouring out a strange tale, obviously concocted, by which he hoped to secure his escape; Percival was sitting quite still and interjecting at intervals, like a minute gun: "I am going to whip you." The clear pronunciation of the letter "h" in "whip" but added terror to the words. It may be added that the boy in question was certainly guilty of the offence for which he had been "sent up"—"cabbing" in examination, "cab" being Rugbeian for "crib"—and had boasted to his friends that he meant "to have the old man on."

Yet he was perfectly free in disciplinary matters from anything mechanical, and was prepared to act in ways which

some would regard as over lax. Every half-holiday there was, as there is at most schools, a Call Over of the whole School ; it took place at three o'clock. To miss it was one of the greater disciplinary offences. Near the beginning of my second term I was reading in my study one half-holiday afternoon and suddenly realised with horror that it was 3.15 and that " Co," as it was called, must be over. I promptly wrote a note consisting of the words, " W. Temple, Leave off C.O.," and took it up to Percival. I found him in his entrance hall, just returned from a ride. He took the note, glanced at the clock, and said, " Where were you ? " " In my study." " What were you doing ? " " I was reading, and forgot the time." " What were you reading ? " " The *Strand Magazine*." Here the cold smile came, but he signed the note as he said, " Eh, you ought not to get so absorbed in that kind of stuff."

I found afterwards that I was regarded as having perpetrated a colossal piece of impertinence, and was told to thank my stars that I had not been flayed alive. But that was a misjudgment. I had got out of a form the previous term ; Percival had no reason to suppose I should be in serious mischief ; moreover, I had presented myself before a competent authority at about the proper time—which was the purpose for which C.O. existed—and it was quite according to his principles to save a boy from wasting time over the writing of lines for a technical offence. No man ever drew a sharper distinction between moral and disciplinary regulations ; indeed this was the secret of his greatness as a disciplinarian.

His control of the School was complete ; and it rested on respect fully as much as on fear. A test was offered by his unusual method of arrival for House Prayers one evening. The staircase, much worn in the treads, curls round a pillar and finds its lower end at the door into Hall. On one occasion Percival slipped near the top and arrived at the entrance to Hall feet foremost, having toboganned down most of the flight in a sitting posture. Many boys must have witnessed the descent ; still more, saw the entry ; but there was no faintest titter. With a perfectly unmoved face,

he rose to his feet and walked as usual to his place on the dais. Probably he was quite unconscious—certainly he seemed unconscious—of the immense compliment which had been paid him in the gravity and silence with which the House had received him. The same gravity and silence were only just perceptibly interrupted when, having given the Sixth leave to attend some function, he took Call Over at evening prayers himself, and hearing no answer to the first name he called, looked up with a gently inquiring smile and said, "Eh, did he say he wasn't there?"

He was universally and profoundly respected; and he was feared, not with terror (except by the genuine evil-doer) but with awe. And in a sense—the deepest sense—he was loved. But he was not "popular." He was too remote and distant for that. He knew his boys inside out; but only a few of them felt that they knew him. Probably the general feeling among both boys and masters was first and foremost that he was a task-master. He exacted the last ounce of work. Also he was temperamentally a Puritan, and insisted on regulating every detail according to his notions of propriety. One of his deepest aversions was the habit, at one time fashionable, of wearing a cap so far back on the head as to show some hair on the forehead. There was an occasion when he met two boys out walking, one of whom was conforming to this fashion. "Eh," said the Headmaster; "you look like a coal-heaver"; and then to his companion, "Take him back to the House and comb his hair and put his cap on properly for him."

Near the end of his reign he became annoyed at the curtailment of football shorts. He enacted that they were to be cut so as to reach the stocking; no bare knees were to show. Of course the presence of loose flannel flapping about the knees is a horrible inconvenience in running, and the boys turned up the ends of the elongated shorts. Then suddenly all shorts vanished, and reappeared not only lengthened by the required amount, but equipped with an elastic band which gripped the leg just below the knee and could by no means be worn above it. But this was in his last winter, and the portentous garments were restored to

normal length and form before the next football season came round.

But there was a more serious side to his Puritanism. He was ready to trust absolutely an individual boy who had not forfeited his confidence ; but in the boys as a whole he put little or no trust. He feared liberty ; with all his liberalism, he feared liberty. He wanted to see the whole day mapped out and to know what every boy was doing at any moment. This led, undoubtedly, to some stereotyping of character. Dr. James refers to the tradition of wide reading in the School ; but this, though very marked, was confined to the cleverer boys who could do their out-of-school work in half, or less than half, the time allotted to it. The filling of the whole day with allotted occupations intensified one unfortunate consequence which the organisation of school life is bound in some measure to produce. Most schoolboys do in fact feel lost when they reach a University. Having had the task of every hour scheduled, they are only bewildered at being told to master certain books by the end of the term, or perhaps in the course of eighteen months. There is no way of teaching boys to work for themselves except by giving them the chance to idle ; there is no way of teaching boys to use time except by giving them the chance to waste it. Percival was so sure that Satan would find some mischief to fill any empty corner of the time-table, that he sought to leave no empty corners. He allowed ample time for games, but wished to see them organised with the same thoroughness as work. He left little scope for the boy of unusual tastes or interests. He represented in this respect the extreme development of one tendency in education. At all schools the hours and the minutes were getting organised by authority. In all schools the pendulum has now swung back considerably. The extreme point was probably reached at Rugby under Percival.

But if he had some of the weaknesses of the Stoic and the Puritan, he had all their strength. That he should make an unnecessary to-do about bare knees or over-fill the time-table are small matters to set against his intense moral earnestness and passion for righteousness. That fiery zeal

was the dominating fact of Rugby life while he presided over it. And the fact that it expressed itself in fearless action outside the sphere of school life only added to its influence. Boys, who tend to conservatism, would object to the particular line which he took ; but they knew in their souls what was the motive that prompted him, and his courage increased rather than diminished his influence on their characters.

Moreover, he endeavoured at Rugby, as at Clifton, to draw the boys into his own enthusiasm for the welfare of the people by making the School responsible for a definite bit of social work. A Boys' Club had been founded in Notting Dale by Arthur Walrond ; under Percival's influence and guidance the School adopted this as the Rugby School Mission, at the same time founding a similar club in Birmingham. This is not the place to describe the effect of the Mission on the neighbourhoods in which it was placed ; but its influence on many of the best Rugbeians has been immense. At the clubs, or in the Camp at New Romney, they have come into close touch with boys of antecedents and experience totally different from their own, and this has often been the awakening of new and wider sympathies. The School Mission is a great educational asset, for which the School has largely to thank John Percival. The story of its inception is told as follows by Mr. W. G. Michell, the member of the staff who served for many years as Secretary to the School Mission Committee :

It was in 1888 that the feeling that there was room for a Home Mission as well as for the Fox Mission in the life of Rugby first found definite expression. Payne Smith and Westcott were the most active supporters of the idea. It was very fully discussed at several masters' meetings, and finally a meeting of old and present Rugbeians was held in New Big School on March 16, 1889, at which it was resolved that "immediate steps be taken to establish a Rugby Home Mission." The project had throughout the warm support of Dr. Percival, and his opening speech at this meeting was one of the most impressive and persuasive speeches that I recollect. His guidance of the Committee, which was then elected, and his careful steering through some rather serious difficulties, were of the utmost value, as was his bold suggestion,

when the claims of London and Birmingham seemed likely to divide the Committee, that Rugby should undertake a Mission in both. He cordially endorsed, too, the wise policy of declaring that the work undertaken should be "Club work for the benefit of young men and boys." He was emphatic that a non-parochial mission was most likely to attract the sympathy of the School.

Accordingly, in the course of the year 1889, the two Clubs were opened. In London, advantage was taken of the work already done by A. F. Walrond (O.R.), for some five or six years in Walmer Road, Notting Hill. His Club was taken over by Rugby and moved into enlarged premises. In Birmingham a Club was opened in the parish of St. Paul, Balsall Heath, and at the first annual meeting held at Rugby, March 1890, Dr. Percival was able to announce so hopeful a start at both Clubs, that the permanence of the work, now happily proved by over thirty years' experience, was practically assured.

Throughout his reign Percival held the School in his hands and never in any degree neglected its claims. He was very rarely absent during term and was always accessible. But he refused to withdraw from his other main interests. When the Disestablishment of the Welsh Church first became a burning question and the leaders of the Church of England were organising opposition to any measure for this end, Percival, knowing well how unpopular his action would be, sent a long letter to *The Times*, which was published on May 4, 1894.

WELSH DISESTABLISHMENT—AN APPEAL TO THE ENGLISH BISHOPS

SIR—It is felt by a large number of churchmen that our Bishops are incurring a grave responsibility, and doing serious injury to the prospects of the Church by their tone and attitude in regard to the legislative measures of the present Liberal Government, and yet hardly any one inside the Church ventures publicly to express in plain language the deep disappointment so widely felt at their lack of wise statesmanship and foresight.

It is true that an Address was presented to the Primate the other day which no doubt originated in the widespread discontent caused by the action of the Bishops in the House of Lords in regard to the Local Government Bill; but this Address was couched in such vague terms and so wanting in plain directness

of speech, that it seems to have missed its mark. It was, I imagine, really intended to say to the Archbishop :

“ Your Grace and your colleagues have caused much pain and disappointment to all liberal churchmen by your failure to show any earnest sympathy with the undoubtedly beneficial purpose of the Bill, and by acquiescing in the cynical and selfish tone of the House of Lords in dealing with it. It is probable that your example may have a mischievous effect on the minds and attitude of many clergymen, while it may be taken as certain that it has tended to rouse suspicion and bitterness in the minds of many of the poorer class, and we therefore venture most respectfully to urge your Grace to do what you can to make amends for your mistake.”

Had the memorialists adopted plainer and more emphatic language of this kind, they would have given truer expression to a very widespread feeling.

But what urges me to write this letter is not a desire to criticise past action, but concern and anxiety for the future. From the utterances of the Bishops in convocation and elsewhere, it seems, alas ! only too probable that by taking up an attitude of uncompromising hostility to the Welsh Disestablishment Bill, they are about to make another mistake which can hardly fail to be disastrous in its consequences.

Is it, then, too much to hope that some may be found who will have the wisdom to say to their episcopal brethren :

“ None of us believe that establishment and endowment are necessary to the life of the Church—when the Apostles went forth with nothing but their staff and scrip they lacked no spiritual power which we possess ; we believe, on the contrary, that there may be circumstances in which establishment and endowment are a positive hindrance to our Master’s work, and it is becoming more and more evident that this is so in the Principality of Wales. The Welsh Church is admitted to be the Church of a minority, the voice of Wales in the House of Commons is almost unanimously against it, and the prevailing sentiment of the Welsh people is irreconcilably opposed to it as an establishment. In the face of such facts as these, it is hardly possible to doubt that the cause of true religion is damaged by its maintenance in a privileged position, and it may safely be predicted that, if the Church is disestablished and started afresh in the free and open field, much of the hostile political sentiment which now prevails will disappear, and the spiritual influence and power of our Anglican communion will increase as never before.

“ We therefore accept the principle of this Bill, believing that it will prove a blessing to our Church in Wales, and because it is

based on the just principle that in matters of religion, above all things, a people should be free to choose for itself, and no external power should presume to interfere or dictate.

“ And let us not be misled by the pedantic, and we might even say sophistic, argument that the Welsh Church is only so many dioceses of the English Church. The distinct nationality of the Welsh is practically recognised as an accepted fact for all sorts of other purposes ; *a fortiori* it should be accepted for the settlement of their religious relationships.

“ As Englishmen and outsiders we hold that, whatever our personal sympathies may be, we have no right in such a matter to withstand the clearly-declared will of the Welsh people, just as, on the other hand, if at any time the disestablishment of the English Church is proposed, we shall claim that neither Irishman nor Scotchman nor Welshman shall have any determining voice in the matter, but, seeing that it is a purely English question, it should in common fairness be left to Englishmen to decide.”

If our Bishops or any of them can be persuaded at the eleventh hour to advocate this wiser policy they will deserve our gratitude as having done what is at once just and fair to the people of Wales, and likely to give a large access of spiritual influence to the Welsh Church, and, moreover, as having established a precedent which may be of the greatest service to the English Church in the not very remote future.

But the great obstacle seems to lie in the thought of disendowment, and here also we appeal to our wiser leaders to consider the matter as statesmen, and to discard and discountenance the heated and misleading rhetoric which is so much in vogue.

It is beyond question that the funds of the Church with which the Bill proposes to deal are public property ; and no one ventures to deny that Parliament is simply exercising its legitimate powers in deciding how these funds are in future to be administered ; surely, therefore, it is the part of wise statesmen to accept these principles, and, having accepted them, to use all their forces to secure that the funds shall not be wasted or misappropriated.

The principle to be safeguarded is clear enough. These funds have been dedicated to spiritual and philanthropic uses ; and for such uses they ought as a matter of common justice to be reserved.

However great the temptation may be to party politicians, they should not be squandered or misapplied with the view of relieving either individuals or the State, either taxpayers or rate-

payers, from duties and obligations which ought to be discharged from other resources, and would be so discharged if these funds did not exist.

By taking their stand on this principle, opposed alike to the policy of cupidity and to the policy of selfish privilege, and amending the Bill as it is in their power to amend it if they will approach the question in a liberal and conciliatory spirit, the Bishops might do a great and lasting service, whereas through their angry protests and their encouragement of unreasoning hostility they are unhappily alienating what it is the fashion to call the New Democracy, and helping to drive it towards an irreligious or anti-religious socialism.

Since writing the above I have read in your columns Mr. Balfour's paradoxical appeal to this New Democracy, and also the words of the Archbishop of Canterbury declaring that the issue now before the Church of England is the gravest that has been before it since its planting. Whether the issue is indeed so grave as the Archbishop declares it to be or not, it is at all events grave enough, for it can hardly be doubted that, rather than maintain in Wales the establishment of a privileged minority Church in the face of a deep-rooted popular sentiment, the New Democracy will sweep the whole English establishment over the precipice towards which Tory statesmen and ecclesiastics are so recklessly leading it.—Your obedient servant,

J. PERCIVAL.

RUGBY, *May 1.*

This letter produced a great outcry. Many boys whose names had been entered for Rugby were promptly withdrawn. Some eager souls, including some old Rugbeians, were active in the West End Clubs "to make the place too hot to hold him." But by such considerations he was wholly unmoved. One letter that he received at this time from a church dignitary was of a kind especially ill-calculated to move him.

DURHAM,
June 10, 1894.

DEAR PERCIVAL—I think it only right to say that I was extremely glad to see your view about the Welsh Church, but was extremely surprised to see that you were incautious enough to express it, with possible injury to Rugby and certain injury to yourself in reference to the clerical promotion which you deserve and were certain to get.

In days like these, I cannot wish for you the terrific fag of a Bishopric, but I had always thought of you as a most proper candidate for the Deanery of Durham, which (in value, £3000) carries with it the Wardenship (*i.e.* the perpetual *Vice-Chancellorship*) of the University.

When our Dean talked of resigning two years ago, when Gladstone was in [who would have listened to me, as he did when it was vacant in 1869], I thought *Kitchin* the most suitable candidate, and *you*, second, because I think that he is not fit for a see (and you are, or were), and that he has not had the promotion from our political friends which he merits. But the more the delay in the Dean's resignation occurs (he won't now resign, I believe), the older *Kitchin* gets (he must now be sixty-six); and we really need a man of fifty, who will work actively the Newcastle branch of the University.

Rosebery, of course, knows nothing of *churchmen*. If our Deanery comes vacant at any time, I don't know how he can be got at. I fear that Temple, after your Welsh Church letter, would not help *you*. He has become a fanatical, bigoted Apostate, full of crotchets about religious education. I cannot approach Rosebery, as I could Gladstone. If the contingency should arise soon (but our old boy is awfully vigorous), I should certainly try (1) to get Rosebery (or Salisbury, or any other Premier) instructed that our Deanery is not mainly a Cathedral and theological post, but an *educational* and *University* one. (This I think I could do); but (2)—which is more difficult—I should like to suggest, if the Liberals are in, *Kitchin's* name and yours. If the Tories are in, I rather think that Canon Browne¹ of St. Paul's would be about as likely a person as we could select from a party of fools.

It will put both you and me at your ease if you refrain from answering this letter. But I wished you to know my thoughts. I am getting old, and can honestly say that for thirty years I have worked and do work for this little University and town and Cathedral as not one of my younger colleagues does or ever did, and therefore I feel intensely wishful to see an energetic and *honest* Head put in for the future, who will work industriously and unselfishly for the place when I am in the grave forgotten. What I dread is one of the self-advertising, promotion-hunting, fussy churchmen or educationalists, who make a gain of godliness.—Yours affectionately.

P.S.—On reading over my letter I see that I have omitted to impress upon you the hint—Don't, in leading a forlorn hope

¹ Afterwards Bishop of Bristol.

about the Welsh Church, go and damage your own chances of future usefulness and promotion. Imagine incautious old —— inculcating such an idea !

There can be no doubt that Percival would have delighted in the Deanery of Durham. But no arguments less likely to sway him can be conceived. Indeed one wonders whether such a letter may not have strengthened the determination which led him shortly afterwards to preach a sermon in Westminster Abbey denouncing Gambling and lamenting a racing Prime Minister, when Lord Rosebery had lately won the Derby. He never feared the unpopular line, or thought that a schoolmaster should hide his convictions for fear of alienating parents. The schoolmaster, he held, can only do his best work for his pupils if he is perfectly honest and open, so that parents should respect his courage, if he acts or speaks in a way likely to attract obloquy. Those who could not appreciate courage must send their boys elsewhere. And the liberty that he claimed for himself he allowed to his staff. At a time when Irish Home Rule could scarcely be advocated in polite society an eminent Irish Nationalist Member of Parliament was passing through Rugby. The Liberals of the town organised a small deputation, inviting one of the masters at the School to join it. The leave of the Headmaster was asked, and was readily given, with the addition : “ I don’t see that one need always be on the respectable side in politics.”

The strain that he was putting on himself was seriously telling on his health by the end of his reign. “ He had done his work at a furious pace. To be honest, in spite of the immense respect felt for him by everybody who was not hopelessly small, the sense of loss at his departure was tinged with a feeling akin to relief. He had strung us up to such a pitch that the tension was sometimes unbearable, and we needed to be let down half a tone to give our best. That was because he had been working against the clock. Under him one was moving towards noble ends along a sure road ; but he did force the pace till one almost dropped from fatigue. After the first weeks of term one was always

submerged under papers—Intermediates, Long List Latin Proses, Grammar Papers, General Intelligence Papers—apart from the ordinary paper work of a large form. And he would listen to no plea for mercy. He was working just as feverishly himself. He was like a bit of rough-hewn granite with a core of intense spiritual heat. Some stupid people bumped against the granite, found it hard, and could not see the glow, or only counted the cold patches on the surface. But, though sternness was the outward and visible sign of his rule, he achieved what sternness alone can never achieve. He was a great spiritual and creative force. The spirit blows where it lists and no man can tell whence it comes or whither it goes. Men and boys are generally more conscious of its departure from their lives than of its presence. In fact, it is the very unconsciousness of spiritual force that makes it creative. Percival possessed that force in a remarkable way. What he said always counted ; but what he *was* counted still more. He inspired Rugby with an ideal of life in which service ranked higher than popularity and duty came before enjoyment. Sternness (and, after all, love must be stern, if it is to be bracing) was for him an inseparable part of his duty as a headmaster. But it would be a mistake to imagine that it was a congenial part. The very fact that it was uncongenial, sometimes led him to exaggerate it, lest he too should be yielding to weakness ; and it was noticeable that in his last Term his eyes and his smile expressed a benignity which some had never suspected. He seemed to realise that the need for severe self-repression had passed, and that he could, without being ‘unfaithful,’ indulge his natural kindliness.”¹

Among the boys, as has been said, he was respected and feared, and in the true sense loved. But the love was mostly unconscious. The stoic aloofness and the exacting idealism prevented what is ordinarily called popularity. Only when it was known that he was leaving did the deeper feeling reveal itself. At once the School became conscious that it not only revered and trusted but genuinely loved him. It was the severing of close personal ties, despite the fact that

¹ G. F. Bradby.

he had so little encouraged intimacy. There were no circumstances to call out the more emotional expressions of feeling, such as have sometimes marked the departure of Headmasters; but no one in the School at that time can question its reality or its depth.

APPENDIX

The following sermon is printed here in full, both as an excellent example of Percival's manner in addressing boys and as an expression of his sense of the value of such a tradition and history as Rugby School possesses. It was delivered from Arnold's pulpit on Sunday, June 25, 1905; he had unveiled the medallion of Archbishop Temple the previous day, and many old Rugbeians of many generations were present.

THE CLOUD OF WITNESSES

Seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith.—Heb. xii. 1, 2.

There is a peculiar interest attaching to any such gathering as this in a school chapel at a commemorative season, when former members of the society, returning from various walks of life, far or near, sit or kneel once again in the old familiar place, and renew the memories of bygone days.

In such an assembly those who are of the older generation hear once more the tones of voices which for other ears are hushed in silence—the choir invisible.

We can still see or feel the presence of friends who are gone beyond recall. We stand or sit in the midst of a congregation invisible yet very real to us.

They look out upon us from one and another familiar seat as you may have sometimes seen the angel faces looking, faces woven into the clouds of a great master's picture, and forming or suggesting its spiritual background.

It is no doubt with some such feelings, memories, visions of days which do not come again that a good many members of this congregation are here this afternoon.

And amidst the thoughts that rise under such circumstances I know not any more appropriate to be impressed on the mind

and memory of you who are to-day the boys of this historic school, living its life, and maintaining its traditions, than the thought that Rugby has been pre-eminent through several generations for the great and strong and striking personalities that have belonged to it.

This being so, we do well to commemorate them ; for there is no greater inheritance into which any boy or man can enter than the inspiring influence of some noble personality. This, indeed, is the one peculiarly enviable privilege of the sons of noble ancestors ; and this is a privilege which every member of a great school can fully and freely share, if he is in any sense truly conscious of the high fellowship into which he has been admitted, and if in the purpose and character of his life he is worthy to be a member of it.

With and through a succession of such members, growing up, one generation after another, sitting, kneeling, praying, listening in this sacred spot from childhood to manhood, with the speaking monuments all around you, seeing the effigies, or tablets, reading the words inscribed of one and another, hearing their voices, you inherit the spirit of their life, and you feel yourself stirred and called upon to do your part here and hereafter to perpetuate this spirit. And to every boy among you, from the eldest to the latest comer, let me say this much—as you hope to live the life of a true Rugbeian you will often think of these greater ones, who have been here before you and have left you their examples, and you will take care to live your daily life remembering—"Of this great fellowship I am free."

When so remembered, these typical spirits live on in the place of their former activities :

Their seed shall remain for ever,
And their glory shall not be blotted out.

Vitai lampada tradunt.

We who live and labour outside in the common life of the world, mixing with the multitudes day by day, seeing something of the lot of the dim populations in town and country, as we think of you boys growing up in our great schools, your privileged life and happy homes, as we think of the inheritance into which you have entered in places like this, and the poor uses you sometimes make of it, I confess to you that we lament the large amount of waste we see in the many lives that come and go, having missed the inspiration and the strength, the character and the moral purpose, which they should have gained in these homes of their boyhood. *O fortunati nimium, sua si bona norint !*

Yes, indeed, your privileges are great in great schools if only

your souls are awake to see and embrace them. But what we have so often to lament, as we follow the lives of public school men of whom we might have hoped higher things than selfish indulgence or cynical indifference, or low tone in public or private affairs, is that in their impressible school-days, the seedtime of life for good or ill, their souls can never have been truly awakened in them to feel the greatness of their inheritance ; their aspirations have never really lifted them into the nobler forms of life. Such men have lived and grown up in these temples of the great ones, never truly or deeply feeling the greatness of the presence in which they have been living all the time.

Such men go out into the world uninspired and unblessed to a life of moral impoverishment and spiritual blindness.

In this Chapel, and in this school of all others, it should not be so with any of you, if you are to quit you like men, who are to be not unworthy of your inheritance and your privileges.

Of the great fellowship you are free, every one ; and what a fellowship it is, if you know it !

Around you on these walls every day are all these witnesses to the strong, the strenuous, the simple, the pure, the unselfish, the noble life, the life of moral thoughtfulness, and intellectual striving, the life of search for truth, and of high endeavour, the life fearlessly dedicated to the best causes, seeking always the things that are more excellent.

Seeing then that your schooltime here is set in the midst of such a cloud of witnesses, you feel how God is calling you to live here and grow up—each one of you with this thought in his heart : “ I must lay aside every weight and any sin which may be in danger of besetting me ; I must run the straight race which is set before me afresh by all these examples.”

And how various are the types recorded on the walls of this Chapel, types of high purpose and life and character, with which you have the happiness to grow up familiar.

There is no poem, said Dr. Martineau, and no biography actual or possible, which I had rather read than the secret spirit history of Rugby Chapel. May you boys and your successors grow up here with souls receptive of all that is best in this spirit history, so that through all your years you may keep open the door of communication between the world of daily life and that higher life of the spirit, which lives in the memories enshrined within these walls.

As you stand by the grave of Dr. Arnold himself, you come to feel the glow of his intense moral and religious purposes, the magnetic power of a prophet among men, and henceforth you

know how to estimate the greatness of great personalities, and how truly it was written that :

The greatest gift the hero leaves his race
Is to have been a hero.

Here again Matthew Arnold should draw you upwards by his culture, and his pathos, and his fine æsthetic sense, and his immortal poems.

Or in Arthur Stanley you will learn to know not only the supremely gifted biographer, but a fervent and beautiful soul, that lived and laboured for the enlargement of the Christian Church, and taught us to feel afresh, how the essence of Christianity is to be sought and exhibited in Christian character.

Or you will learn some of the deepest lessons of the personal life from Arthur Clough, the boy of whole-hearted devotion to the good of this school, the man of whom his friend could say that there was in him no taint of littleness, who was pre-eminent among his contemporaries for high principle and unworldliness, the unresting searcher after Truth, her never-failing worshipper who sang :

It fortifies my soul to know
That, though I perish, Truth is so—

With her is no variableness, neither shadow of turning—

That, howso'er I stray and range,
Whate'er I do, Thou dost not change.
I steadier step when I recall
That, if I slip, Thou dost not fall.

Truly such an one is not far from Him who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life ; and it is a great thing for you who are boys to have had such men before you in the fellowship of your school.

And as you look round the tablets on the walls or the storied windows and learn their history, those who know will tell you how they have variously enriched the inheritances of our life—the mathematician, the scholar, the philosopher, the soldier, the traveller, the man of affairs, the minister of Christ at home and in the mission field—faithful unto death.

And among them will stand out through all time the great name of him whom we commemorated yesterday, Frederick Temple, the strong and just Headmaster, strenuous and steadfast in every duty, independent, tolerant, hopeful, tender of heart, a great example to carry with you.

As we, who are nearing the end, look on your young life with all its possibilities, we cannot but wonder what this life of yours,

yet in the germ, is to be hereafter, and what you will make of it ; and we pray that you may hold fast to these examples which have made the great name of your school, and that you may live, as they did, the life of Christian manliness and Christian idealism.

And for such a life and such a character, as Dr. Temple said many times over in varying phrase from this pulpit, that which is required above everything else is a strong sense of personal duty—duty should be your morning star. Such a character, he added, if it be dedicated to the service of Christ, and so learns to add love to duty, becomes the highest that we know on earth.

With this ideal in your heart, duty inspired by love, may every one of you quit you like men, looking unto Jesus the Author and the Finisher of your faith.

CHAPTER V

EARLY DAYS AT HEREFORD

SOON after the beginning of the Lent term of 1895 Dr. Percival received the following letter :

10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL,
Jan. 31, 1895.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR—I am extremely anxious that you should fill the vacant see of Hereford. It is not merely that your standing, experience, and ability give you a claim to a bishopric ; but the circumstances of Hereford make it of the highest importance that it should be presided over at this juncture by one who entertains large and liberal views as to the true nature and function of church establishments. I have some reason to hope that your views (as expressed last year) and my own as recently stated at Cardiff are, at any rate to a considerable extent, in agreement. Now the diocese of Hereford includes at present some (12 or 13 I think) parishes which belong to the Church in Wales, and I believe that if you saw your way to accept my proposal the possibility of friction would be diminished or obviated. At any rate it is extremely desirable that a Bishop of your opinions should be placed on the marches of Wales.

One word more. I was concerned some time since to learn that your health required change and some degree of repose. I am very far from insensible to the heavy work that devolves on Anglican Bishops in these days. But Hereford is not one of the heavier sees, and I trust that you will not be deterred from undertaking it by fear of undue pressure.—Believe me, reverend and dear Sir, your faithful servant,

ROSEBERY.

To this letter Percival replied as follows :

MY DEAR LORD—I am very grateful for your kind proposals with reference to the See of Hereford, and more especially for the

terms of your letter. In considering the matter my first feeling has been one of grave doubt whether with my democratic sympathies and general views I should be justified in taking charge of such a Diocese as Hereford. On the other hand I am bound to admit that what your Lordship says with reference to the Welsh Disestablishment question has so far influenced me that I venture to ask to be permitted to weigh the matter for two or three days before deciding, and to consult in confidence a friend whose judgment I should greatly value. I also feel that my wife, who is at present in Algiers, has a claim to hear from me before I take a decision which might mean so much to her as well as to myself. I hope, therefore, that by thus taking counsel I shall not be trespassing too much on your Lordship's indulgence.—I am your Lordship's faithful servant,

J. PERCIVAL.

A few days later doubts had been removed, and he gave his acceptance as follows :

SCHOOL HOUSE, RUGBY,
February 5, 1895.

MY DEAR LORD—Since I ventured to ask for a little delay before replying to your letter about the See of Hereford, I have given the matter my best consideration. I have also taken private counsel, and the result is that I have decided to put aside my personal misgivings. If, therefore, your Lordship should recommend me for the office, and her Majesty is graciously pleased to approve of the recommendation, I shall accept it gratefully, and I will by God's help do my best to justify the confidence thus reposed in me.—With my best thanks, I am your Lordship's faithful servant,

J. PERCIVAL.

The offer had not been expected, nor was the post one which he would have chosen. His desire was to work in the industrial North, and there can be no doubt that his gifts would have found more scope in that field.

To Mr. E. M. Oakeley

SCHOOL HOUSE, RUGBY,
Jan. 22, 1895.

DEAR OAKELEY—Your letter has found me just launched and beginning all school arrangements again. I am not in very

good condition, but hope by obeying doctor's orders till May to be set on my legs for another bout. . . . I don't think Hereford will come my way. Indeed, I hope it won't, as I should not care for it in the least and should have to say—No thank you!

If they would only send up Kitchin and give me Durham, I should be glad; but he is placed for life.—Ever yours affectionately,

J. PERCIVAL.

When the appointment was announced, congratulations of course poured in. To some of these Percival sent answers revealing his own mind.

To Canon Alexander

SCHOOL HOUSE, RUGBY,
Feb. 8, 1895.

DEAR MR. ALEXANDER—I am very grateful to you for your kind words and good wishes, which I value more than I can say. Also I am thankful that you have felt able to say anything of what I endeavoured to do in Oxford. My critics, who as a rule don't know Oxford from the inside, are fond of speaking of my Presidency at Trinity as a comparative failure, but for my own part, though I am sufficiently conscious how much better others might have done, I sometimes think when I remember what the life and conditions of the College were in 1878, and what they were in 1887, that I helped in some really good and successful work. The fact is that one gets a good deal of both praise and blame that are not deserved. . . .—Yours very sincerely,

J. PERCIVAL.

To Mr. Killigrew Wait

SCHOOL HOUSE, RUGBY,
February 18, 1895.

MY DEAR WAIT—No good wishes were more welcome than yours or will be more highly prized; for I have few such friends left as you and Mrs. Wait. As for the office to which I am designated, I can only pray for God's grace to enable me to serve Him in it faithfully, as I shall enter on it in all humility.

The offer was altogether unexpected, and came just after I had got leave of absence for two months on doctor's recommendation, and had ordered tickets for myself and Mrs. Percival to the Second Cataract of the Nile. We had expected to enjoy the next

full moon at Luxor or Assouan or Abou Simbel. So man proposes and has to counter-order his tickets.

Amongst all the mixed feelings involved in the change, this one is very pleasant that we shall be so near to you again as to feel like neighbours. With my best regards to Mrs. Wait and Mrs. Perrin, whose good wishes are I know with us on this occasion, and to all your circle.—Always yours sincerely,

J. PERCIVAL.

To Mr. E. M. Oakeley

SCHOOL HOUSE, RUGBY,
Feb. 26, 1895.

DEAR OAKELEY—Pray forgive my delay in answering your kind note. I need not attempt to say how I value all the kind things you say, but this I may say, that anything that came to me would lose not a little of its sweet savour if I felt that you and a few other friends would not approve.

It all came as a great surprise, just when I had ordered our tickets for the Second Cataract, the doctor having insisted on my getting a two months' leave of absence.

Now we have to do our best to wind up everything here by Easter, and I am beginning to feel anxious about a successor. If a good man comes, he will have a good time, as the School is in a good condition, with a rare set of young boys. As I look at them I wish I had been young enough to stay another five years and see them all landed at Oxford and Cambridge.—Yours affectionately,

J. PERCIVAL.

A letter from Dr. Martineau, to whom he had sent congratulations on his ninetieth birthday, must have been especially welcome :

35 GORDON SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.,
April 20, 1895.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP—I am deeply touched by your remembrance of so purely private a date as the close of my ninth decade. True it is that the life which it brings so near its end has been, I believe, mainly devoted to moral and spiritual interests akin to those which have long been under your watchful care, and now look up to you with more security and brighter hopes than ever. But instead of being the very ground and material of action and administration, they have had with me no instru-

ment but "winged words," whose only trace, at best, is a momentary ripple as they fly. If in simply seeking and telling what I could not but accept as sacred experiences I have ever reached a responsive chord in other hearts, I welcome the fellowship with grateful joy as the promise of a unity which cannot stop till all are of one fold and one shepherd.

With warmest thanks for your words of benediction and kindest remembrances, in which my daughters unite, to Mrs. Percival.—I remain yours very faithfully,

JAMES MARTINEAU.

The preliminary formalities took their usual course, and on March 25, Lady Day, the Consecration took place in Westminster Abbey. It was a Monday; my elder brother and I had gone home from Rugby, where we were both at school, to Fulham Palace on the Saturday in order to attend it. Dr. and Mrs. Percival joined us there on the Sunday evening. On that Sunday a terrific gale had swept over the Midlands; no less than seventeen great elms were blown down in the School Close at Rugby—including the last of the Three Trees familiar to readers of *Tom Brown*. Percival stood at the window watching the desolation until it was time to start for his train. When he reached Fulham some three hours later he was still almost in tears.

He was consecrated by Archbishop Benson, being presented by the Bishops of London (Temple) and Peterborough (Creighton). The preacher was Canon (now Bishop) Gore.

Percival returned to Rugby for the conclusion of the term, and himself took the School confirmation, which at Rugby is always held towards the end of the Lent term. This was his first episcopal act. His first diocesan act was also a confirmation. The circumstances shall be narrated in the words of the Rev. C. H. Brooke, who was then vicar of Criggon, in Montgomeryshire, which was the parish concerned.

On the death of Dr. Atlay there was an interregnum, during which the affairs of the Diocese were administered by a Clerical Prelate. A confirmation had been announced, and I was invited to take my six peasant candidates to the Mother Church of Alberbury, our population numbering but one hundred and

fifty-seven. I had spent all the energy and pains I was possessed of in impressing on my young people the extreme importance of this step, and had with great difficulty obtained the release of one from his work in a nonconformist place of business for the occasion, when to my surprise and indignation I found that the date had been changed and the confirmation over without my being informed of it.

Finally I decided to write and lay the matter before the Bishop-Designate still at Rugby, not uncooling my vexation, and adding that no Disestablisher could have dealt us such a blow, this being a spiritual wound.

A prompt reply told me that the first act of our new Bishop would be to come and confirm those six peasants. "Tell your people this," were the opening words of the letter, which unfortunately I cannot lay hands upon just now, but which I read out from our little altar.

Now, my farmers were staunch Conservatives, and had a holy horror of Liberals and Radicals, so that they did not look with favour on the appointment of Dr. Percival, nor were they prepared to give his Lordship a very hearty reception; and it was with difficulty that I persuaded my churchwarden to agree to read an address of welcome.

It was my great privilege and pleasure to receive Dr. and Mrs. Percival as my guests for the week-end, Easter 1895. Mrs. Percival, who was then suffering from insomnia, remarked with a smile that Criggon was the only place she had been able to sleep in for some time! The humility and tolerance of the "Schoolmaster Bishop" were especially remarkable. He seemed to esteem other people's sentiments, opinions, and convictions as sacred as his own.

It was one and twenty years since the last episcopal visit, for Criggon is the most distant and isolated parish in the Diocese, thirteen miles from the nearest available railway station, and, moreover, one which would have suffered by the Disestablishment Bill! So, in spite of political prejudice, and owing to the Bishop's genial, quiet, earnest manner, he was worthily received. Willing hands had erected a triumphal arch over the Church gate, and the labourers who were at work from 6 A.M. till late in the day, and who refused to take any pay for their work, were men who *did* come to Church; and the Bishop, on hearing of their self-denying act, sent the chief labourer a signed portrait of himself, which to my subsequent delight I found sharing the previous monopoly of the cottage wall *with* the Rev. Charles Spurgeon.

The Bishop celebrated at the 8 A.M. Eucharist, conforming

to our local use, preached at 11, and again at 3.30, after which the aforesaid address was duly read in the School-room.

I cannot say how grateful I felt to Dr. Percival for this great act of sympathy with out-of-the-way, forgotten folk, who rejoice and take fresh courage on finding that some one does care.

It was not till after Easter that the enthronement took place. In the following day Mrs. Percival wrote to Mrs. Wait a description of the scene :

THE DEANERY, HEREFORD,
April 19, 1895.

MY DEAR MRS. WAIT—Yesterday was such a busy day I had not one moment to write and thank you for all your loving kindness to us. You can never know what a real blessing those two days with you were to us. We were very worn and tired out when we came to you, and we left you quite other beings—refreshed and strengthened.

Yesterday was a very trying day. I felt foolishly nervous as the immense congregation all turned towards the western door and breathlessly waited for the first sounds of the knocking for admittance. At last he came, the doors were thrown open and the oaths administered, then the procession began their long walk to the East end, the choir preceding them singing "O praise the Lord." The organ pealed forth, and I felt every nerve in my body quivering as I saw my dear one led up the nave, the Dean holding one hand and the Canon in residence the other. Amongst all the crowd of white-robed clergy he looked calm and dignified, though his face was very white. I am most thankful that these tremendous functions are over.

The service was sung most beautifully. It was followed by a tremendous public luncheon at 2 o'clock, where we had to listen to a very long list of toasts. The Mayor and Corporation presented an address in the hall of the Palace; and at last we were free to hide our heads in the quiet shelter our good Dean had given us here. Presently we are off to Gloucester, to-morrow to Fulham, and back to our home on Monday. Mrs. Temple tells me that we were too late for the 8th May drawing-room and are now down for the next—date not known, but I mean to be ready. With our dear love and best thanks to you all.—Ever your affectionate and grateful friend,

L. PERCIVAL.

Life at the Palace was full of happiness. The Bishop

and Mrs. Percival rejoiced to entertain, whether his own friends or people collected for diocesan purposes, or children. Every one praised their hospitality. Prebendary Wynne Willson, the Rector of St. Nicholas', Hereford, who was his domestic chaplain in the early days of the episcopate, writes : " He has been called a puritan, but those who knew him at home surrounded by young people saw his power of enjoyment, his delight in merriment. He was no foe of sport or games ; it was the debasement of them by gambling that he fought against. In those days he rode regularly, played golf in his holidays, and played ' drawing-room ' games with the greatest zest."

There was opposition to him from the outset, not at first for his ecclesiastical views or theological sympathies (for these were comparatively unknown), but for his notorious radicalism, and especially for his support of Welsh Disestablishment and for his policy with regard to voluntary schools. This, as his first letter to Lord Rosebery makes clear, was what he had anticipated. But those who came into contact with him individually were usually won from alienation to affection, even while their opposition to his political attitude was as pronounced as ever. Dr. Chapman, who was his medical adviser throughout his twenty-two years at Hereford, tells how his own respect and affection were won immediately by the Bishop's simplicity and courtesy.

He did nothing in modification of opinions or utterance of them with a view to conciliating opposition. At his first Convocation he made a long speech in opposition to the official policy of the Church with regard to Welsh Disestablishment. He urged that Disestablishment should be accepted and a policy of concurrent endowment put forward. The subject came up on May 14, 1895, and Percival felt bound to intervene :

Holding, as I do, that the various religious denominations have an equitable claim upon these ancient gifts (*i.e.* the ancient endowments of the Church), the method of appropriation which I should wish to see adopted would be a very simple one—that if the Church is disestablished and disendowed the funds should be simply distributed to the authorities of the various

religious denominations, and that under those circumstances the denominations should be required to render year by year an account of their use of the funds, and that due provision should be made that the capital sum should not be dissipated.

The Bishop of St. Asaph.—May I ask whether the Church would be included among those to whom funds are to go?

Certainly. My view would be that the funds should be distributed afresh from time to time, and over intervals of years in what we may call a fair proportion to each of the different denominations. I cannot but feel that in this way the Church would still retain a fair share of these ancient emoluments, and that we should create a new state of things in which the various religious bodies would start afresh, free from the political rivalry and the social discontent which now prevails.

The Conservatism of Herefordshire was not likely to be propitiated by such a proposal. Yet the kindness, the obvious sincerity, and the abundant hospitality of the Bishop won him personal friendships on every side. Whatever men thought of his opinions, they admired the courage with which he expressed them, and rejoiced in the happy life at the Palace which made it a veritable home for the whole diocese.

But this happiness was soon overshadowed by a great grief. Mrs. Percival fell ill, and, after a long period of painful anxiety, died. On Whit Sunday, 1896, the Bishop wrote to Canon Alexander, who was coming to Hereford as examining chaplain for the ordination retreat :

I am sorry to say that Mrs. Percival is in the doctor's hands, and he won't allow her to do any work, or have any guests at present, so we must make our ordination time a bachelor's affair, and I must apologise to Mrs. Alexander for taking you away from her for two or three days.

Mrs. Percival was taken to live quietly at a farm-house outside Hereford, in the hope that with perfect quiet she might be restored. But it was of no avail. She died on June 13, 1896. The blow, when it fell, was almost overwhelming. Always reserved and very shy of his own or other people's emotions, Percival relied exceedingly on those who were really close to him. His wife's death left him

very lonely, "living," as Mr. Wynne Willson says, "only for his work and those times when his family and their friends came to see him." He showed little of his grief in public, but his household knew that late in the evening he often went to the terrace walk beside the river—a very secluded place—and there sobbed alone till he could bear to go to bed.

On the very next day after that on which Mrs. Percival died the Bishop wrote to the doctor who had attended her :

Sunday evening.

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
June 14, 1896.

DEAR DR. CHAPMAN—Before the day closes I desire to say how very grateful I and my children are for all your kindness, skill, and care on behalf of my dear wife.

I shall always feel that the best possible was done, and that nothing could have saved her life, so that I am very thankful we adopted the plan of trying Ashgrove Farm and not any other. If she had remained at home we might have reproached ourselves thinking we had not given her every chance of rest.

For myself, I feared from the beginning of her illness that at her age, and after all the wear and tear of life, she had not the strength to bring her safely through.

Forgive my taking up so much of your time. I do so only because I wish to assure you of my gratitude.—Yours very sincerely,

J. HEREFORD.

It was on the same Saturday of the Christian Year, fifteen years ago, that our youngest boy, beside whom she will be buried, was killed riding. He had brought home the Collect for the second Sunday after Trinity to learn.¹ It was a fearful blow to her, and I shall never forget the beautiful way she dropped on her knees when the coachman stepped into the drawing-room and said what had happened.

Of many letters received at this time two shall be quoted here :

¹ "O Lord, who never failest to help and govern them whom Thou dost bring up in Thy steadfast fear and love ; keep us, we beseech Thee, under the protection of Thy good providence, and make us to have a perpetual fear and love of Thy holy Name ; through Jesus Christ our Lord." In later years he would mention this as his favourite collect.

From Bishop Talbot

BISHOP'S HOUSE,
KENNINGTON ROAD, S.E.,
June 18, 1896.

MY DEAR BISHOP—I write a line with true brotherly sympathy, and with the sympathy of old acquaintance, to tell you of the sorrow which the news of your sorrow put into my heart. You will know how it comes home to me. We started so near together—"two together," and now "one taken and the other left."

May God strengthen you with His only comfort in such loneliness coming at such a time.

She was always so warm and friendly to us: and I well remember the affectionateness of her words when we left Oxford.

We both feel it as the loss of a friend. I venture to hope that the recollection of how she bore up under the great stroke of sorrow which fell upon you both at Oxford may be one help for you in this terrible day. . . .—Yours very sincerely,

EDWARD ROFFEN.

From Canon Scott Holland

I AMEN COURT,
ST. PAUL'S, E.C.

MY DEAR BISHOP OF HEREFORD—I have feared to write, for I know so little of the inner heart of your deep trouble; and yet vague and ignorant sympathy, however real, can only wait outside in silence. Its words can but seem hollow and impertinent. Yet you may be willing to let me assure you that, in the silence, there were those waiting, and remembering, and feeling, and sorrowing, who could not venture to intrude within the secret of your personal grief.

In the meantime, our best work was to try and secure that your own effort on behalf of the suffering Armenians¹ should not fail through the stroke that had fallen on you, and we have struggled along with the Appeal. . . .—Yours very sincerely,

H. S. HOLLAND.

In reply to letters of condolence from Mr. and Mrs. Wait, the Bishop wrote:

June 19, 1896.

DEAR MRS. WAIT—You will forgive my inability to write much or to express my gratitude to you all for your sympathy.

¹ See p. 254.

I ought to feel nothing but thankfulness that we have had her so long, and perhaps that feeling will prevail over the sense of desolation by and by. One of her friends tells me that when we lost our Freddie she wrote—"I hope he will be waiting for me when my turn comes, and perhaps our Heavenly Father may permit him to be my sweet guide to show me the wonders and the glories of the Eternal home." God grant her hope may have been realised in this or some better way.—Ever yours affectionately,

J. HEREFORD.

Your husband will take this as my reply to his letter, so good and kind.

The Bishop was specially touched by a message of sympathy from the people of the parish where he held his first confirmation. In reply he wrote :

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
July 6, 1896.

DEAR MR. BROOKE—Nothing has touched me more at this sad time than the kind words and prayers of your parishioners ; your and their kind thoughts of us and your welcome when we came was a constant source of grateful recollection to my dear wife and to myself ; and I know your sympathy is genuine and from the heart, and most heartily do I thank you every one for this loving kindness.

May the blessing of God rest upon the parish and every home in it.—Yours sincerely,

J. HEREFORD.

During the summer he went abroad, and on his return to England received a letter from his Bristol friends, to which he replied as follows :

ST. MARGARET'S BAY HOTEL,
DOVER,
September 9, 1896.

DEAR MRS. WAIT—I have just received Trix's note telling me that your dear mother has been taken to her rest, and your long and loving attendance on her is over. Just now no doubt you are feeling the sadness of the breaking of this last tie with your earliest years, but you have happy memories at the back of your sorrow, and the thought that her weariness is relieved, and the hopes of the life beyond the veil.

I landed at Dover yesterday with Bessie and her husband. She is fairly well again, but not as strong as usual, and they will stay here for a week. I go to London to-morrow, and to my solitary home on Friday.—With every good wish, yours very sincerely,

J. HEREFORD.

Even in the twelve months that she had been at Hereford, Mrs. Percival had made a multitude of real friends; her marvellous gift of sympathy and her infectious vitality had endeared her to all who met her. By her death the Bishop was deprived of a wonderful helper in his work, for she had been able to interpret him to others when his own reserve had made it hard for them to understand him.

CHAPTER VI

MAINLY DIOCESAN

BISHOP PERCIVAL had not been long in his Diocese when he was first called upon to deal with the troubles that arose from partisanship within it. He had very definite convictions, and those who dissented from his convictions often represented him as himself a partisan pure and simple. He was thought to approve of everything Protestant and of nothing Catholic. This was, of course, totally untrue. In 1896 a Church Association van visited the parish of Lingen, a small parish on the Welsh border, of which the vicar was the Rev. C. L. Edwards. The agent, after making fun of a sermon which the vicar had preached, gave it out that he was doing a work of which the Bishop approved. Mr. Edwards wrote to the Bishop to inquire, and at once received the following reply :

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
Dec. 9, 1896.

DEAR MR. EDWARDS—I am sorry to hear what you tell me of the visit of a Church Association van to your Parish.

Till I received your letter I did not know that there was such a van anywhere in the Diocese, and I regret to hear of its going about, as I believe that controversial agency of this kind, to whatever party in the Church it may belong, does a great deal more harm than good, inasmuch as it sows seeds of bitterness and misunderstanding, and creates mischievous divisions instead of promoting sound morality and Christian peace and goodwill among our country people.

A controversial lecturer is hardly ever a safe guide. That is the warning I should like to give to our people in this connection.—Yours sincerely,

J. HEREFORD.

In a subsequent letter he gave Mr. Edwards permission to make any use of what he had written and show it to any clergy who might be confronted with the same circumstances. The van soon disappeared.

Mr. Edwards gives the following record of his dealings with the Bishop as evidence that "he was very fair if trusted and consulted":

In 1898 I told him that many of my parishioners knew nothing about Holy Communion, and that to teach them I proposed having occasionally a simple choral eucharist and inviting non-communicants to attend, worship, and learn. He approved, provided, of course, that I told them non-communicating attendance was not sufficient.

In 1900 I had grave trouble with a schoolmaster. We discovered that he was a man of bad life. The Bishop gave most valuable and shrewd advice, and when the reaction came and the parishioners felt that the Managers had acted somewhat unmercifully he came to the Parish on Saturday evening and stayed till Monday morning, his object being to uphold the Managers and new teachers. His programme was:

Saturday Evening.—Address to church workers, on Loyalty to Christian principles, and to the vicar when he stood up for purity and truth.

Sunday, 8 A.M.—Holy Communion. (The Bishop, contrary to his favourite ritual, did exactly as I was wont to do, *i.e.* Eastward Position, Light, Mixed Chalice.)

10.30 A.M.—Visit of encouragement to Sunday School.

11 A.M.—Mattins and sermon—very plain and earnest.

3 P.M.—Service for men—one of the grandest addresses I ever heard.

6.30 P.M.—Evensong and a very vigorous sermon.

Monday, 9.30 A.M.—Visit of encouragement to new teachers in the day school.

It is perhaps worthy of notice that he did not allow his personal attitude to make him contemptuous of the principles and scruples of others, however little he might feel these himself. A Catholic layman in the diocese writes, enclosing a letter and saying, "It goes to show, I think, that he was quite sympathetic with those whose views of Church Discipline were supposed to be far removed from his own.

His was a delightful personality, and it was to me quite wonderful that so many of us were so attached to him when our views in matters of Church and State were so far removed from his."

The letter is as follows :

Private

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
February 22, 1896.

DEAR SIR—In so far as I have authority, I gladly give the dispensation from fasting which you ask so as to relieve your mind of any scruples ; and I trust you may thus be strengthened to do the good work on which you are daily engaged in Christ our Lord.—Yours sincerely,

J. HEREFORD.

P.S.—I must ask you to forgive my delay in writing—I have been from home, moving about my Diocese, and in London ; and when in London I waited a day before answering, hoping to find a resolution of Convocation which I thought had been passed on the subject, with the view of sending it to you ; but I think I was mistaken, as I could not find one.

During the winter of 1895-96 a Canonry fell vacant which the Bishop had to fill. He wished to appoint his friend, the Rev. S. A. Alexander, now Canon of St. Paul's, then Reader at the Temple ; but this was found to be impossible on legal grounds, for Mr. Alexander had not been in Priest's Orders for the whole of the required six years. He then appointed Canon Williams, a definite Catholic, much respected in the diocese. Concerning this choice he wrote to Mr. Alexander :

I think the Canonry appointment will prove to be all right. It is of no moment what people say. Of the clergy in the Diocese who might have been considered to have claims, it was clear to my mind that Williams is the most distinct spiritually minded and endowed with some real spiritual power. His present tendency is not so extreme as I thought it was, and I believe he will be useful, as he is a truly devout and good and sympathetic man.

Percival's appointments to the Canonries in his Cathedral became the subject of heated controversy, of which an account must be given in due course. Meanwhile his action on this occasion should be borne in mind if justice is to be done.

An interesting ceremony took place at Hereford in 1897 when the Cathedral Library was opened by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Primate's Cross-bearer on that occasion was the Rev. E. H. Winnington Ingram, Vicar of Ross, and afterwards Archdeacon of Hereford, one of Dr. Temple's Rugby pupils. Percival had invited the great Rugby scholar and teacher, Robert Whitelaw, to stay at the Palace to meet the Archbishop, on whose staff at Rugby both of them had been masters. But Whitelaw was unable to come.¹

While he was ready and eager to help good men in their work, and to avoid embarrassing them by failure to conform to their practice, he made no concealment of his own point of view. An opportunity for expressing it was afforded by his First Visitation Charge in 1898.

The six charges delivered by the Bishop at his triennial Visitations form an interesting series. They are not devoted to the discussion of some one main topic of the day, but deal in every case with fundamental principles. Each of the Charges except the last is divided into two sections: in the first the Bishop reviews the returns made by the clergy and churchwardens, laying stress on what seem to him the chief needs of the diocese and of the various parishes within it; in the second he turns to some large matter of Church doctrine or practice. And in each section there is continuity of interest and treatment throughout the series, so that in reading the Charges we receive a vivid impression of the spiritual development of the diocese during his episcopate. It will be most convenient, however, to summarise the first section of the whole series of Charges at this point. It is easy to estimate the relative importance or urgency of different questions in the judgment of the Bishop by noticing those to which he returns in every Charge. The Conduct of Public Worship was handled with especial care in the First Charge,

¹ See p. 98, note.

delivered in 1898, special attention being given to the provision of frequent opportunities for parishioners of all ages and of every class to receive the Holy Communion. This topic was not dealt with in the Second Charge, but in each of the remaining four it finds a prominent place. The subjects which recur in every one of the six Charges are Intemperance, Impurity, and the importance of the clergy teaching personally in the Church Schools. The Housing Problem finds a place in four of the Charges.

These facts give a true indication of the Bishop's sense of the Church's duty. He deals with the various problems and methods of Church work in its narrower sense ; he offers advice both as regards general principles and practical detail ; but his constant pre-occupation, as shown in his most deliberate utterances, was with the moral and spiritual life of the whole people of the Diocese. His interest was not the intensive cultivation of a select few, but the permeation of the national life with the Spirit of Christ.

It appears that in the earlier years of his episcopate there was a slight tendency to resent the nature of the inquiries which he issued, and to refuse information. The Bishop contented himself with an allusion to the "very small number of what I may call autocephalous parishes, which seem to have no information to offer to the Bishop ; and I hope that they are in the proverbially happy and peaceful condition of those countries or communities which have no history."

The Visitation of 1898 gave him his first opportunity for a formal expression of his convictions on fundamental issues. He was a whole-hearted Protestant, and devoted the second part of his First Charge to a statement and defence of the principles of the Reformation. He greatly deprecated the development of ritual in public worship, and had a somewhat unexpected account to give of it. After referring to the great progress of physical science and the consequent expansion of wealth, he said :

How, then, is all this affecting or likely to affect men's religious faith and practice, as members of our English Church ? In the first place, it undoubtedly weakens faith, though it may at

the same time add comparative strength to the Established Church.

Those who are not deeply moved by religious principle, or are comparatively indifferent to the spiritual life, naturally if they profess any religion at all, drift towards the religion of the privileged classes.

Only the more earnest souls are unaffected by the influence of social attraction and this drift of the social current, so that Nonconformist bodies may be expected in such a period to show some diminution in numerical strength, especially among their wealthier and upper class members, on whom the force of the social current acts most strongly ; but we should not too hastily infer from this that a diminution in numbers necessarily means a corresponding or proportionate lessening of influence on the life and thought of the nation.

What really seems to happen is that the Church strengthens its position as the Church of the upper and wealthier or materialised classes—the classes on which this present world, with all its possessions, powers, ambitions, enjoyments, and attractions, exercises the strongest and most engrossing influence—the classes in which faith in Christ and membership of a Church is almost universal as a profession, but very often extremely weak as a dominating and determining force in life and conduct.

Under the influence of these predominant classes, or in the endeavour to obtain their allegiance, or to rouse and satisfy their higher aspirations, the Church is insensibly drawn towards a more elaborate and spectacular worship, and the tendency is to appeal more and more to the senses.

Worship becomes more aesthetic and symbolic, more calculated to please and to captivate the eye and the ear, the aim being to reach the inner life through these channels of outer sense.

Such worship is natural, men say, to a materialistic and luxurious age ; and it has the great advantage or recommendation of being undoubtedly the kind of worship that appeals most directly to the sensational or emotional cravings of such an age, and it is undoubtedly popular.

But its spiritual value needs to be constantly and vigorously tested, not by its general acceptance or popularity, but by its moral and spiritual fruits, its effect on individual and national character, and on purpose in life and conduct. A great and ever-present danger connected with it is that, being sensuous, it is very liable to deteriorate into an emotional worship, which satisfies a mood, but does not regenerate and sanctify the life ; and the greatest difficulty that confronts thoughtful readers

of the New Testament in regard to their acceptance of it as the true representative of the Christianity of Christ, is that it is so very hard to make it fit with the spirituality of the Gospel. If these observations are correct it would seem to be our special duty in such an age as ours to hold fast in our religious life and worship to the two curative and regenerating elements of simplicity and spirituality; and to beware how we yield to the sensational tendency, which, by its very nature, always draws men from one gratification of sense to another, instead of vivifying and strengthening their spiritual character.

Later on in the same Charge the Bishop said :

The lessons of history on these subjects are indeed very significant, for history is very apt to repeat herself by producing the same fruits from the same stock in successive harvest fields. Sacerdotal claims, and sacerdotal mediation and authority, seem always to have ended in intellectual obscurantism and in artificial distortion or debasement of moral standards; and they are thus condemned by the fruits they have borne.

With equal distinctness history warns us that the sacramental theories towards which so many men and women seem to be drifting back—theories which have their most complete example in the Roman Church—invariably carry their votaries towards a sort of sensuous mysticism, or mystic materialism, which cannot be made to fit with the doctrine and spirit of our Lord and His apostles, and would have been condemned by Him as being not of the spirit but of the flesh.

Behind the objection based on principle lay a definite practical fear :

In the spirit of gratitude and reverence we should desire to beautify our churches and our worship, giving them of our best, as our acknowledgment that “the earth is the Lord’s and the fulness thereof.”

But we should at the same time weed out of our ritual all that undoubtedly symbolises or fosters erroneous doctrine, or tends to adulterate our worship with sensationalism, or draws worshippers into dangerous proximity to Romish superstitions.

Thus it becomes our duty to check the craving which seems to admit no finality in the accompaniments of Divine service, and is constantly driving men and women, especially in the luxurious classes, to introduce now one ceremony and now another.

These novelties are the more to be deprecated, because they are almost always imitations of some Roman practice, and also tend to weaken the moral fibre, which needs every possible tonic and support in a luxurious and sensational age.

With the Roman Church always watchful, and unforgetting, and unchanging in character—*semper eadem*; with all her aggressive claims, all her deep-seated antagonism to educational and intellectual enlightenment, and to individual freedom of conscience; with all her mediaeval superstitions, and her modern decrees, her Mariolatry, her image-worship, her Jesuitry; with all these at our gates to tempt and to mislead the weak or the unwary, it is, to say the least, extremely unwise to dally, as many do, with her doctrinal ritual and observances.

In other parts of this First Charge the Bishop deals with Biblical study, selecting especially two subjects for comment. Referring to the Higher Criticism of the Bible he says:

Within the last two years these methods have received, so to speak, the stamp of orthodoxy through their adoption by such prominent members of the High Orthodox party in the Church as the writers of *Lux Mundi*.

Following their lead, the mass of younger clergy and other Biblical students no longer hesitate to accept the principles of Biblical interpretation to which these writers have given their adhesion.

This, when rightly understood, amounts to a momentous change; how momentous it may eventually prove to be it would be premature on my part to speculate.

Hitherto the use of this new instrument has been mainly confined in our Church to the books of the Old Testament, but it is sure to go forward, unhasting, unresting. Thoughtful students in this and the next generation will be moved to extend the application of these scientific methods, and the result may possibly be a considerable modification of the Orthodox Churchman's views on some articles of his traditional Creed.

The other main subject considered under this head is the nature and origin of the Christian Ministry, and here the Bishop confines himself to quoting with full approval long sections from Lightfoot's *Essay on the Christian Ministry* and Hort's *Christian Ecclesia*, though he pauses to deprecate the attacks on these works by Dr. Moberly and Dr. Gore. The whole Charge ends with a tribute to the blessings

brought to the English Church and Nation by the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

The Charge was, of course, published and was the occasion of many comments. Some of these had been forwarded to the Bishop by Canon Alexander. In reply the following letter was written :

LAMBETH PALACE, S.E.,
June 23, 1898.

DEAR ALEXANDER—Best thanks for your kind note. It is pleasant to know that such men as you mention approve of my poor charge. One letter I have received says, somewhat exaggeratingly, nine-tenths of the clergy will hate it, and nine-tenths of the laity will thank you for it.

I'm here for a Bishops' meeting which we held yesterday, and go again to-morrow morning. We seem to do little but mark time, but I hope to press it home to some of my brother Bishops that it is not quite creditable to be such friends with E.C.U. and *Church Times*, and to submit so tamely to their mode of governing the Church by arrogant bluff and bullying. It will be interesting to know how the Bishops take it.—Yours sincerely,

J. HEREFORD.

A little later this Charge and a speech on similar lines delivered by Percival to his brother Bishops led to the following correspondence between him and Bishop Talbot :

FROHBURG,
July 8, 1898.

MY DEAR BISHOP—I wish I had written to thank you for sending me your charge. I enjoyed all the earlier parts of it very much as others have done. May I try to tell you why the later part and what you said in Convocation were so little agreeable to me—as to very many others. I have been so much in accord with you on many matters, such as social questions and that of Armenia, that it is a great shock to me to find you taking a line which separates us so entirely. I know you have been much drawn over the same things to men like Gore and Holland and others. One way of putting my difficulty would be to ask whether you would really wish to see the Church of England clear of men like them, with whom I must in this respect join myself? I am sure you would not. Yet it is difficult to see to what other end your language tells. Certainly they would repudiate it as energetically as the “advanced” men.

And this suggests one chief point. Is it not the need and policy of the moment so to speak and act as to sift the loyal from the disloyal or the moderate from the advanced, and the really English from the Roman-minded ?

But your common invective would rally all to one flag. Forgive me for even referring to *The Church Times*, because I know that in one article they contrasted you and me. But, indeed, *The Church Times* in its editorials has really been very reasonable and reconcilable (wonderfully different from what it was), and its strong language towards and about yourself is really one mark of what I mean.

When I think how possible it is that you may rise to higher position yet, I confess that it appals me to think that you might then handle such a matter in the same way.

But you will perhaps say that policy is good but principle is better. That is true, and if there is nothing in the Christian Priesthood and in its powers but superstition and abuse, then no doubt it is right to give it no quarter, even though the result must be with unerring certainty to split the Church of England, and to part alike from a great part of its best worth to-day and of its authorities and theologians in the past. But is this so ? To me it seems quite certain that our task is to keep the doctrines of Priesthood and Sacrament right by keeping them in proportion : right in proportion to the whole work of God, whose special appointment they are ; right in relation to Christ, whom they must serve without obscuring Him ; right in regard to the whole body of Christian People with its covenant position and priestly character ; right, therefore, as executant (on earth) and representative of the Priesthood of Christ, and organ and mouth-piece (inseparable in many respects from that for which it speaks) of the Priesthood of the Holy People.

Moberly's book may have many faults ; surely it is worth very great consideration. "Chester" is certainly a very moderate sacerdotalist ! You heard what he said of it. "Oxford" added to me privately that he thought Moberly had completely answered Lightfoot. I should feel very much disposed to think that Lightfoot himself would have gone very far to meet Moberly. Pardon me, dear friend, if I say that I am perfectly certain Lightfoot would never have written those sections of your charge or made your Convocation speech. If he had, how could he have gained the wide, almost universal trust which he did from men of different kinds who knew him well and were close at his side ?

It is because I feel so strongly with you the dangers of over-technicalising and materialising the economy of Grace : the

real tendencies in certain quarters to the treatment of priesthood and priestly power which as Anglicans we believe to weaken and not strengthen religion and morals—that I do desperately wish to see you touch those subjects with another hand and in another tone.

Puritanism will never remedy Romanism. For one thing it commits the very same error of knowing too much, only in the negative direction. And the only difficulty for Sacerdotalism is to interpret the moral and spiritual elements which it represents and embodies, to see that it does not *go ahead without them*, or in advance of them, and that the other parts of truth which hold it in place and proportion are not forgotten.

But now I am beginning to repeat myself, so I had better stop. I am afraid of my own boldness; or that you may think me rude or arrogant in tone. But I *hope* you will see that whatever I have done I have meant to write in real friendship, though as a friend greatly pained and aggrieved (in a public sense) and also not a little puzzled.—Your sincere friend and brother,

E. ROFFEN.

MY DEAR BISHOP—You will, I fear, have wondered that I did not write in reply to your letter from Switzerland. But the fact is that I sent for your address at once, and then decided that I would not trouble you during your holiday—and after this I became so busily occupied with some pressing duties that I fear I have allowed you to be at home again some little time without an acknowledgment; and now I hardly know what I had best say beyond the one word which is uppermost, a word of grateful thanks to you for writing to me in that spirit of true Christian friendliness which, if I may venture to say so, always so happily characterises you.

I am the more grateful because what I may say or do might very well have been treated by you and by others as a negligible quantity. I sent my Charge to my old friend the Primate, and afterwards stayed with him the best part of two weeks, but he never made the slightest allusion to it; and so I concluded that it was outside my own diocese a document of little moment or interest.

As regards my speech at the Bishop's meeting, so far as I can recall it, I don't think I said anything which I could not justify; but it is quite possible that I may have expressed myself awkwardly, as I often do, having no command of language on the spur of the moment; and the day had been a very trying one. The Archbishop had allowed the morning to be entirely

spent on small points with reference to prayers for the Dead, without touching the real point, which is the Roman dogmatism and that of Roman imitators who speak in their ignorant rashness as if they had penetrated all the mysteries behind the veil and knew all about the purgatorial condition of souls of every degree. . . . Thus our sitting was ending and I was disappointed and irritated. . . . Such is my poor apology for anything in the *tone* of my remarks which may have hurt you. As to the substance, I hold to it, being convinced that it represents what needs to be very seriously considered by some of our brethren, though I fear they won't consider it to any good purpose. As regards Moberly's book, Moberly himself deserves all praise as an earnest and devout student, and I would sooner accept his authority than that of men of decidedly partisan mind like —, although I hold his acknowledged principle of "presuppositions" to be utterly unworthy of this.

As regards what I said about the seminarist type of young clergy manufactured in some theological colleges and the grave responsibility of the Bishops who foster them, I have a very strong conviction again, and I shall probably repeat my remarks. I have a very strong conviction again as to prints like *The Church Times*. I should not think them deserving of notice but for the lamentable fact that they pervert the judgment and degrade the temper of such a large part of our clergy and their wives and families and other well-meaning women. For a Bishop to say, as "Chester" did, "I never read *The Church Times*" is simply to show how little he notes or understands the perverting influences at work, unless he sympathises, and in that case his reply is evasive and no more need be said. Seeing the thoroughly unchristian influence of *The Church Times*, as I do, on the mind, spirit, and temper of many well-meaning but ignorant people, I feel that if the proprietors, whoever they may be, are devout and intelligent churchmen, they ought to be ashamed of their share in it; and if the Editor claims to be a devout churchman he ought to be ashamed of himself for deliberately spreading and feeding the spirit of insolence and detraction which has been so strong in the paper.

Referring to my Charge. I feel from your letter that you have been unduly alarmed by its plain language, and I doubt if you have given its substance dispassionate consideration. I am not surprised, as your party has been so long unaccustomed to plain, dispassionate criticism, the Evangelicals having, as a rule, proved themselves either a fanatical or a feeble folk in their utterances. But I did not expect you to confound my position with what I understand you to mean by Puritanism,

and this brings me to the only other point with which I will trouble you, for I have taxed your kindness and patience far too long already. The Bishop of Durham, as you will, I think, find, is at one with me in what I have said on the burning question of the moment, which means that he holds to Hooker's views on the Sacrament and to Lightfoot's demonstration of the true position of the priesthood, and to Thirlwall's unrefuted language on ritual.

The vital mistake of your friends (in my poor judgment a disastrous mistake) was made when under whatever influences they persuaded Keble in his old age to make or agree to that unfortunate alteration of his hymn, "*As in the hands.*" Since then you have been on the treacherous slope that leads, and will continue to lead, ordinary minds downwards to the sacramental superstition of the darker ages.

And herein lies the urgency of my appeal the other day, that it is our duty to look behind the apparently extravagant doings of the modern ritualists and go to the root of the matter, instead of treating them as the Archbishop and the Bishop of London seem anxious to do. These ritualists, unless I misread them, have given far more thought to the matter than Bishops who treat them thus.

If only the High Church party in this their day could go back, say under your leadership, resolutely and openly and without regard to consequences, to that parting of the ways, and say our position is that of the earlier Keble and of Hooker his master, and of Lightfoot, the greatest interpreter of the New Testament revelation in our day, what a blessed thing it would be for the Anglican Communion.—Yours sincerely,

J. HEREFORD.

It was in the same year as this First Visitation, 1898, that Percival started the *Diocesan Messenger*, a monthly magazine such as is officially issued in most dioceses. It was a means of keeping the diocese informed about the various activities which were going on within its borders; it helped to break down the isolation of the remote country parishes, always one of Percival's chief objects; and it afforded the Bishop a means of communication with his clergy and laity. In every issue he wrote a letter dealing with some large question of national or diocesan concern. Certainly it could never be said that he failed to "give a lead," though he often led in a direction where only a few were ready to follow him. At

first the *Diocesan Messenger* was run at a serious financial loss, which the Bishop paid himself. Later on, advertisements were secured and an annual balance was available, which year by year the Bishop assigned to diocesan needs.

At this time the Bishop had much anxiety on behalf of his son Arthur, who was an officer in the army which marched up the Nile under Kitchener. Just after the battle of Omdurman he wrote to Mr. Killigrew Wait :

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
September 5, 1898.

DEAR WAIT—My youngest boy Arthur being in Kitchener's Army, I have had a week of intense anxiety, and you will sympathise with me in my relief this morning when I learnt that the battle is over and he is apparently untouched.¹ I thank God for His goodness to me. The engagement seems to have been a terrible butchery rather than a fight. Anyhow, the victory is a great blow for civilisation over barbarism and for the happiness of multitudes in the Valley of the Nile.—Yours sincerely,

J. HEREFORD.

The love of Rugby never faded in his heart, and when Thomas Hughes ("Tom Brown") died in 1897 Percival was glad, amid all his diocesan and other activities, to associate himself with Rugby and the author of its famous story by offering a memorial of Thomas Hughes in the shape of a gift of his books to certain boys each year. The offer was acknowledged in the following letter from his old Rugby chief, Dr. Temple, who had become chairman of the Rugby Governing Body during Percival's Headmastership.

LAMBETH PALACE, S.E.,
December 11, 1897.

MY DEAR BISHOP OF HEREFORD—The enclosed Resolution was passed at the last meeting of the Rugby Governors, and you will see that it lays on me the duty of conveying to you their thanks for your gift to the School. I write accordingly, and am very glad to be the medium of the interchange of courtesy.—Yours affectionately,

F. CANTUAR.

¹ Arthur Percival was, however, severely wounded by the explosion of a Dervish mine soon after the hostilities were over.

[ENCLOSURE]

RUGBY SCHOOL : *Extract from Minutes, 1st December 1897.*

It is unanimously resolved :

That the offer of the Bishop of Hereford to give a sum of money to provide an annual gift of books, by the late Mr. Thomas Hughes, to a certain number of boys in the School as a memorial of Mr. Hughes, be accepted ; that all details as to the selection of the boys for this purpose, the inscriptions in the books, and other matters connected with the gift, be left to be settled from time to time by the Headmaster, after consultation with the Bishop of Hereford, and that the Chairman be requested to convey to the Bishop of Hereford the thanks of the Governing Body for his gift to the School.

By the close of 1898 the period of solitude at the Palace was nearing its end. The Bishop married an old family friend, the daughter of the famous physician who had virtually saved his life when his health broke down as the result of his heavy work as schoolboy and undergraduate. It was characteristic of him that he should announce the event in a letter circulated to the clergy of the diocese.

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
November 29, 1898.

MY DEAR BROTHER—I am writing this letter to say that, having been continuously at work since February, I find I must shortly take a brief period of comparative rest or quiet ; and consequently I propose to be absent from the Diocese from January 17 to the end of February.

If, therefore, you have any matter in which I can be of service, and which you feel to be urgent, I hope you will give me the opportunity of attending to it before January 14. Should anything arise during my absence, which may seem to you to require immediate attention or consideration, I would ask you to consult the Archdeacon or Mr. Beddoe.

In addition to these matters, I desire to inform you by direct personal communication that I hope to be married in the early part of next year to one who has long been a family friend, Miss Symonds, daughter of the late Mr. Frederic Symonds, the well-known doctor at Oxford.

Two and a half years ago when my dear wife was taken from me, I owed so much to the tender sympathy of the clergy, sym-

pathy never to be forgotten by me, that I should not like any one of these my friends and fellow-labourers to hear first from some outside source of the step I contemplate.

During the interval I have had constantly to trespass on the kind indulgence of the Diocese in regard to many duties with which I had not the strength or the gifts to cope alone. And knowing, as no one but myself knows, how much of all that was best in my life and work I owed to a devout and loving companion, and having experienced my inability to do alone many things which as a Bishop I ought to endeavour to do, I trust that the change in my home life may enable me to serve you and the Church in our Diocese better than I have hitherto been able to do.

Asking your prayers on my behalf, I am, yours sincerely,
J. HEREFORD.

P.S.—I hope you will kindly understand that this letter calls for no reply or acknowledgment.

The wedding took place in Westminster Abbey on January 18, 1899. Prebendary Wynne Willson, who was "best man," narrates his nervousness that the bridegroom would not be in time, owing to his insisting on attending a meeting in the Church House immediately before the ceremony.

To a letter of congratulation from Mrs. Wait which reached him as he was starting with Mrs. Percival for their honeymoon, he replied :

LORD WARDEN HOTEL,
DOVER,
January 19, 1899.

DEAR MRS. WAIT—It was most kind of you to write to me on the 16th. The letter reached me yesterday morning, and I have not till now had time to thank you for it. Nothing will ever make any difference to my friendship to you and Mr. Wait, and so long as you will have me I shall always wish to come and see you when I can, and I shall always wish you to come and stay quietly with us when you feel inclined to say you are coming. As life grows shorter, memories and the things which bind one to dear friends become all the dearer ; and the wife who is now to be my dear companion will do her part very lovingly in giving you both an affectionate welcome.—Yours affectionately,

J. HEREFORD.

At about this time the custom had grown up in the

Cathedral of singing the *Benedictus qui venit* immediately before the Prayer of Consecration. Percival believed this to be illegal, and informed the Dean of the fact, with the result that the custom was abandoned, the Dean writing to the Bishop that he would "be sorry that we should permit any innovation at the Cathedral which should be the means of leading astray any incumbents in the diocese." Percival was here acting conscientiously according to his interpretation of the law; he was not following any mere preference of his own. Prebendary Wynne Willson tells how on one occasion "coming out of the Cathedral after a choral Communion at which the *Benedictus* had been sung, he said, 'How beautiful the *Benedictus* sounded, breaking in suddenly upon the solemn silence of the Cathedral.'" The fact is, as the same witness testifies, that though he could appreciate beautiful effects, "to him worship was of the heart, not the eye. No one could live with him and not see and feel the reality of his piety. By any one entering his study late at night unexpectedly he would be found reading the Bible. He never failed to exhort people to read the Psalms and the Gospels. His dislike of high ritual was based on its complexity, rather than occasioned by the doctrines it represented, much as he opposed these in his pulpit utterances. He frequently gave offence by speaking of 'spectacular communions.' On the other hand, any slovenliness in the service, any evidence of lack of care for the Church, earned his whole-hearted condemnation."

In his official action he was always guided by his interpretation of the law. For example, he held that "Vestments" were illegal, and accordingly he refused to institute to parishes priests who refused to give an assurance that they would not wear them. This happened on two occasions. The matter was not taken to the Courts. In both cases the patron ultimately decided to present another candidate.

He was eager to do what lay in his power to deepen the spiritual life in the diocese. With this object he acceded to a request in the year 1900 that he should conduct a Bible Class at the Palace during Lent. Accordingly, he held

such a course on Wednesday evenings at 8.30, dealing with "the Sermon on the Mount in its bearing on common life." But it was, of course, only a few in Hereford and the immediate neighbourhood that he could help by such means. For any wider influence he relied on his own visits for Confirmations and otherwise, on the Diocesan Mission, and on the Scheme for Bible and Prayer Book Examination, which had been instituted by Bishop Atlay.

With regard to the visits for Confirmations, Prebendary Wynne Willson writes :

Arduous as was the work of Confirmations in this rural diocese, owing to remoteness and lack of train service, yet he always enjoyed it. Wherever he could, he drove. He revelled in the country and the beautiful scenery of his diocese. If he had to drive from a station to a parish he would say, "Tell them to send a dog-cart ; I don't like the cab, smelling of stale tobacco." The scent from a bean-field or a clover-field delighted him. No place was too remote for him to visit. His capacity for addressing country children at Confirmation Services was amazing. It was not a matter of adapting himself to his audience—he seemed naturally at home with a rustic congregation, the result, no doubt, of his ancestry.

The Rev. R. Burges Bayly writes that "most of those who knew the Bishop would agree in saying that in none of his important diocesan work was he so thoroughly happy as when holding Confirmations."

The Bishop seemed especially to enjoy his visits to the different parishes on these occasions. His whole strength and love seemed to be manifested in this work. I have known him get up from a sick bed and face a long cold drive of more than fifteen miles rather than allow a Confirmation arranged for to fall through.

During the last seven years of his Episcopate it was my privilege to serve as his Hon. Chaplain, and I was frequently in attendance on him at these times. He thoroughly understood young people. He not only arrested and held their attention during his addresses, but he fairly won their hearts. Few will forget the impressiveness of those Confirmation scenes—no description can convey a sufficiently clear idea of their solemnity. When he stood up to deliver the first address, his beautiful face seemed to light up, and as he proceeded with his strong, loving counsels to the candidates, reminding them of

the difficulties and dangers before them, and telling them of the strength and power by which they might be met, and of the source from which this power came, there must have been few hearts that were not deeply touched. The reverence and solemnity with which he conferred the actual laying on of hands deeply affected all around him.

His joy in Confirmations was no doubt largely due to the fact that there alone did his work bring him into touch with young people. But while this was so, Confirmations were also a chief means by which he was able to foster the spiritual life of the people. The addresses at Confirmations are primarily directed to the candidates. But they are heard by the parents and friends, and the parishioners generally, who attend. Percival preferred to hold Confirmations on Sundays, on the ground that on that day more people could and would attend than on any other. Perhaps this is not unconnected with the fact that during his episcopate the diocese of Hereford rose to the head of the list of dioceses for its proportion of communicants to the population. Certainly the solemnity of his addresses at these times must have impressed the people with the seriousness of moral questions. "No man can live long enough to see the end of any sin that he commits." "The flames of hell have never been put out; I see them burning up the lives of men." "The greatest gift a hero leaves his country is to have been a hero." Such were some of his most frequently reiterated sayings. His main stress was always upon the moral influence which every one is bound to exert for good or ill upon his neighbours, and the need of all the aids which the Church supplies if this responsibility is to be met worthily.

However hard a Bishop works he cannot be his own missionary, and for the further deepening of the spiritual life of the diocese as a whole he instituted the Diocesan Mission. The general plan of this effort may best be shown by quotation of a letter to the Rev. F. B. Philips, to whom the Bishop had already written to inquire whether he would consider taking up the work for a time in succession to a clergyman who had been obliged to resign on grounds of health.

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
August 27, 1906.

DEAR SIR—I am glad to have your letter and send the following particulars :—

My last missionary, who has had to give up missionary's work owing to delicacy of health, lived here when not out on mission work. He received £150 a year and his travelling expenses, and his board here free of cost, of course. His work consisted of—(1) week-end visits to parishes by arrangement with the Incumbent; Friday evening to Tuesday morning. (2) Two or three Ruridecanal visits in the course of a year. A Ruridecanal visit extends as a rule over four Sundays, and the missionary to begin with attends a Ruridecanal Chapter and arranges with the clergy to visit some five or six neighbouring parishes, taking such services, and giving such addresses, etc., as may be agreed upon. He spends the whole month in the Rural Deanery, and hospitality is provided by the clergy. We find this useful type of mission in Rural Parishes. (3) Possibly one or two ten-day or fortnight missions in a larger parish in the course of the year. (4) Some courses of sermons in Advent and Lent.

I would suggest that you should, if convenient, come and see me, as this would enable both of us to see whether the opening is suitable. I expect to be at home and free to receive you for any night before September 7.—Believe me, yours very truly,
J. HEREFORD.

The Diocesan Mission was, in the Bishop's mind, an effort to help the spiritual life from the centre, and to break down the isolation of the remote parishes. It was not merely the provision of a preacher to the various parishes at different times. He thought of it rather a pastoral activity on the part of the Chief Pastor of the diocese through his chosen agent. Mr. Philps, who accepted the Bishop's offer, and was for a time one of the series of Diocesan Missioners, says: "I used, in each parish I visited, to commence my work by reference to the connection of the Bishop with parish and people expressed in my visit, its marking of his pastoral love and care for them and of his desire to know how they were getting on. This gave them a new view of the Bishop in many places."

Side by side with this directly spiritual work was the endeavour to develop an intelligent study of the Christian

religion. Bishop Atlay had inaugurated an Examination on the Bible and Prayer Book to encourage study by giving it an objective. The Rev. J. Davies, of Stoke Prior Rectory, Leominster, sends the following account of Percival's activities in relation to this scheme :

When Bishop Percival entered upon his Episcopate at Hereford, he, as might have been expected, took great interest in all matters connected with the schools and Religious Education. Most of the elementary schools were Church Schools. There were several organisations for their maintenance and progress, and especially for the keeping up of a high standard of religious knowledge and training—an excellent syllabus, a system of inspections, training of pupil teachers, with examination and prizes, etc.

One scheme, known as the Bible and Prayer Book Prize Examination Scheme, had been in existence for just quarter of a century in 1895. It was managed in connection with the Diocesan Schools' Associations by the Bishop, the Archdeacons, a Secretary, and a Board of Examiners. Its object was to encourage interest and enthusiasm in the religious work of the schools by giving prizes to children on the results of an annual written examination, the questions being set by the Examiners and sent to each school.

The subjects were a book of the Bible, generally a Gospel, and some portions of the Prayer Book, and the whole of the Catechism. The elder and more intelligent children in a school were sent in.

Previous to the time of Dr. Percival, some hundreds of children had sat for the Examination in several different years. But just at the time that he came, for some reason or other, the numbers were very low.

He at once showed his interest in the scheme, and did all he could to induce more schools to send in candidates. His letters in the Annual Reports show how keen he was about the religious training of the children, and how anxious he was that this scheme should prosper.

He took very practical steps to help it. He increased the number of "the Bishop's Special Prizes." He also provided a prize book for each of the candidates in the second class. After the death of Mrs. Percival he gave an endowment of £100 to provide twelve prizes in her memory, now known as "The Louisa Percival Memorial Prizes," given to the six boys and six girls who do best in the examination.

On seventeen occasions during his episcopate he annually invited all the children who had gained prizes, their parents, the head teachers, and the clergy from the successful parishes, to the prize distribution and tea at the Palace. The guests, as a rule, amounted to several hundreds.

A word should be said about these days, for no pleasanter picture of the Bishop will live in the memory of those who were present on the prize-giving days. After a short special service in the Cathedral, at which all the guests were present, an adjournment was made to the Palace grounds, where in the brightness of a summer afternoon the venerable Bishop, with all his simple and courtly dignity, his face lit up with that charming smile of his, first said a few earnest and encouraging words to the children and to those assembled, and then distributed the prizes with a word of congratulation to the winners of them. The prize-giving was followed by tea for all on the lawns, the Bishop himself seeming to enjoy the whole day as much as the children. Teachers still, and children now grown up, speak with pleasure of those days.

When the war came and prevented the issue of reduced railway fares, the Bishop offered to pay the difference between the former specially reduced fare and the then existing fare, so that even children from the poorest parishes might not be prevented from attending on the day.

As a result of the Bishop's efforts the numbers of candidates, and of schools entering, reached, during his Episcopacy, the highest point in the history of the scheme.

At the Annual Meetings of the Examiners, when the Class lists were drawn up, the Bishop presided and helped the Examiners and Secretary by his advice and judgment. He always wished a high standard to be maintained, and at the same time to encourage schools and children where there were difficulties.

Of his relations with his clergy, on which the effectiveness of a Bishop in his diocese must chiefly depend, it is not possible to speak in a few phrases. The opposition aroused by his attitude on many public questions—especially Welsh Disestablishment and Church Schools in the early days, in the later time modernism and reunion—created a hindrance to the establishment of intimate intercourse. Apart from this, Percival was not an easy man to know. He was deeply sympathetic, except on the intellectual side, but he did not

easily show his sympathy. Those who took the first step found that he welcomed approaches, but it is not easy for the ordinary country clergyman to take the first step towards intimacy with his Bishop. Consequently there were to the end many who knew him only as an official and as a controversialist on what was in their judgment the wrong side. And it cannot be denied that, when known only in this way, he seemed both formidable and chilling.

There are some men who are attractive to all save those who know them well; they are universally applauded; their praises are in the mouths of all men; but intimate friends tend to qualify the general approval. There are others whom the world is slow to praise, yet who are revealed to intimate friendship as tender, noble, and self-sacrificing souls. Percival belonged to the latter class. Only those who could penetrate his reserve ever knew his greatness of spirit or his tenderness of heart. To others he seemed austere, remote, and even rather contemptuous. Just as at Rugby he would trust individual boys, while putting little trust in the School as a whole, so at Hereford he honoured his clergy taken singly for their devotion and ungrudging labours, but he had no high opinion of the clergy as a whole, whether in his diocese or out of it. Unfortunately, most of the clergy come into contact with their Bishop most frequently at gatherings where the general rather than the individual aspect is most prominent, and where those public matters are brought into discussion, on which Percival generally found himself in opposition to the view held by nearly all the clergy.

He was an ogre for work. One of his chaplains had been a journalist, often working fourteen hours a day; but he found that Percival "worked him off his feet." Prebendary Wynne Willson writes:

People often used to say to me what a difficult task it must be to work with so exacting a master. He expected work, and at times very hard work. I quote a letter written when I left him: "Take pauses for refreshment, recreation, thought, and enjoyment; and don't let 'parochial claims' interfere with these." That was his attitude. Naturally he was quick-

tempered, and capable of anger, but he had the most absolute control. He was most patient, and if and when hitches occurred, he was very merciful. Cruelty, injustice, slovenliness, and neglect of duty angered him, and he expressed himself at times very strongly. He was quite easy to work with, for he was never capricious or arbitrary.

The frequency with which he stood alone, or with only a small following, is quoted as a mark of his unpopularity. Nevertheless, his courage and sincerity won universal respect. On the occasion when the late Dr. Sinclair was presented with his robes as a Doctor of Music, a large concourse of people were present, most of whom disagreed with his ecclesiastical and political outlook. In the course of his speech, he said, "I shall not be alone, though you know I am often alone in my opinions." This was followed by a burst of applause, which showed the popular estimate of his character—great respect in spite of difference of opinion.

This episode is evidence that as he came to be understood, though the opposition to his views remained, he also came to be respected and, by those who understood most fully, to be loved. And his own energy in work bore its fruit.

His hindrances were heavy. He was a radical amongst bigoted conservatives, a liberal churchman and reformer amid a population whose soft relaxing climate caused them to dislike effort, and whose remoteness made them suspicious of new thought. He was a keen temperance reformer amongst a cider-making, hop-growing community. He was not always loyally served by men whom he himself appointed to positions of importance. But there is no doubt that his power of organisation, and to still greater extent his power of awakening a sense of duty, achieved the main purpose of a bishop's life, that of getting his diocese to work.¹

It has been said that his sympathy was deep except on the intellectual side. At this point there was a real failure. He had not the capacity of understanding why men cared for the views which seemed to him mistaken. To this must be attributed his strange inability to convert men to his point of view. It is remarkable how little he accomplished in this direction when the extent to which he won respect

¹ Preb. Wynne Willson.

and affection are remembered. He would make a speech which thrilled with delight those who had agreed with him from the outset ; they would expect the immediate capitulation of the hostile forces ; and then to their dismay they had to realise that the enemy was totally unaffected. No man, broadly speaking, can convert another intellectually unless he can first do full justice to that other's position. This Percival could rarely do. He simply did not understand, for example, the Catholic party. He admired their devotion and their conscientiousness. But he thought their intellectual position stupid, which manifestly it is not. They knew he had not appreciated the grounds of their position ; consequently they were merely unmoved by his attack, though somewhat irritated that he should have made it.

The fact is that he was little interested in intellectual problems for their own sake, and had not that power to approach questions from a variety of angles which such an interest inevitably confers. Mr. J. R. Mozley, who was one of his Clifton staff for a time and always a strong admirer, writes :

That Percival was a philosopher could hardly be said : " I have got my principles," he said to me once ; this was in reply to a mention I had made of Hegelianism as a possible guide to thought ; and he added, " I have seen the results on men of reading Hegel." The results, of course, might be different in different cases, and I am sure that he would not have refused his sympathy to that distinguished Oxford Hegelian, T. H. Green. His sympathies were wide, though he shunned argument, in the early days at any rate ; and when, in later life, he did more or less take to it, politics was more congenial to him than any other subject.

Such irritation as was felt, however, existed mainly, though not solely, outside the diocese. Inside the diocese it came to be realised that though he could not understand the position of High Churchmen (except of the very moderate variety represented by his intellectual leaders, Lightfoot and Westcott) he appreciated them personally and had no desire to drive them from his diocese. He was much misrepre-

sented in regard to this. A leading Catholic clergyman in the diocese is reported to have complained that Percival wished to drive the Catholics out, though he had himself been appointed by Percival to a much sought after living, to a rural deanery and to a prebendal stall. He certainly tried to be just to those with whom he disagreed. Moreover, the knowledge of his sympathy with anything in the nature of trouble or distress began to spread. An instance of this sympathy in one direction is given by the Rev. Maxwell F. Webb, who writes :

First, I held the living of Donnington, near Ledbury, it was one of the poor livings in the Hereford Diocese. It was a little country parish with a small Church. The Friday before a Sunday in Lent, I was taken suddenly ill. I telegraphed at once to the Bishop's Secretary, whom I knew, and asked him if he could find me a helper for the Sunday. On Saturday morning I received a letter from Dr. Percival, saying that he would be very pleased to take the services in my Church himself.

The Bishop arrived at 10 o'clock on the Sunday morning, having driven all the way from Hereford. He took my services himself, at 11 o'clock and at 3.30 P.M. He would not partake of any food in the Rectory, because he knew that the living was a poor one, but he brought his own sandwiches with him. When the afternoon service concluded, he drove back to Hereford.

He fully appreciated the difficulties of the country parson's work. Mr. Philps, writing of his work as Diocesan Missioner, says :

The men and the parishes were reviewed by the Bishop before my visits. It was our custom to speak together of my work before I went out to do it. In this way he helped me beyond words. And though speaking intimately of shortcomings here and there, he never said an unkind word to me of one of his clergy, but always and without exception sought for some excuse in the isolation of the parish, or circumstances of the house, or in some other way.

The channel through which his sympathy chiefly showed itself was a constant generosity in relief of the poorer clergy. As a rule even his chaplains only knew of the gifts which he sent through seeing the letters of thanks which they brought.

Especially at Christmas time would gifts of money be sent to needy priests, and quite as readily to those who opposed him, or even who organised opposition to him, as to others. The Rev. C. L. Edwards writes in this connection :

He used frequently to send presents, usually anonymously, to the poorest of his clergy at Christmas ; generally £10. In one case he asked a clergyman who had opposed him repeatedly and vigorously in the Diocesan Conference and the Press to act as his almoner—to give his presents “ from a friend who wishes to remain anonymous.” By his choice of this particular almoner he threw the recipient off the scent.

It was his rule to spend the whole of his official income on the diocese. None of it was spent on holidays or on personal needs, beyond the expenses of the house, which was largely used for entertaining.

Canon Bannister had an experience which illustrates at once the Bishop's sympathy and the reasons why it was so little understood. Shortly after coming to the diocese, Canon Bannister found that the vicar of a neighbouring parish had lately died, leaving a widow sadly burdened with a debt of which the existence had been forgotten. He wrote to the Bishop, who replied, without a word of sympathy, merely asking to whom the debts were due ? Were they people who would be greatly damaged if they could not recover their money ? What were the resources of the executors ? and so forth. Canon Bannister did not then know the Bishop, and, feeling rather sore, wrote to say that he would raise the money himself and not trouble his Lordship further. But when he set about the work of doing what was wanted he found that the Bishop had made his inquiries through other channels, had satisfied himself with regard to the facts and the need, and had paid the whole debt out of his own pocket.

There was no doubt about the tenderness of his heart. But it is not easy for the prophet of righteousness to sympathise with moral weaknesses. As Bishop Gore says of the impression he left on his colleagues and pupils at Trinity, “ We felt that a great strong righteous will was expressing

itself amongst us with profound astonishment at our being content to be such fools as we were"—so in his diocese men who were guilty of any moral failing felt only his amazed indignation, and perhaps, when that was called for, his official censure. This temper enabled him to be peculiarly bracing to the strong, but more terrible than helpful to the weak.

For the spiritual life of the clergy of his diocese he tried to provide assistance through the organisation of an annual retreat ; he secured the help of leading men of every school of thought for the conduct of these retreats, and, though they were much valued by those who came, he was disappointed that so small a proportion of the clergy availed themselves of this opportunity.

It must, however, be admitted that he himself found the special organisations of a devotional period rather uncongenial. This was apparent in the days before ordinations, when the time was insufficiently organised and less valuable than it might have been. But he tried to create a sense of the vastness of the Church's task by always requiring a missionary book to be read for the examination. He also set two books on which the candidates were examined by himself or some one chosen specially—not by the examining chaplains. These were Hort's *Christian Ecclesia* and Lightfoot on the Ministry.

He tried to become acquainted with all the clergy and church-workers of the diocese, and as Hereford is only a few miles from the southern border of a diocese extending some seventy miles from north to south, he used to take a house in the Shropshire archdeaconry for six or eight weeks in the summer, inviting the clergy and church-workers of the neighbouring parishes to a series of small, informal garden parties. It should be added that he was a keen supporter of the scheme for a Shropshire diocese, and proposed that each Bishop concerned (Hereford, Lichfield, and St. Asaph) should surrender £600 a year towards the endowment of the new see.

Amid all his cares and conflicts he kept up his contact with old friends :

To Mrs. Killigrew Wait

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
January 1, 1900.

DEAR MRS. WAIT—This is my first writing of the new date and, as I need hardly tell you, the note comes laden with all my best wishes to the dearest of friends, and with the hope that you have been enjoying some real Christmastide happiness. It has been, I know very well, transfused with eventide thoughts, and something of eventide sadness. It could not be otherwise, but it is none the less God's good gift. I also desire to thank you for your kind share in the memorial in the College Chapel to my dear Loo. She was so faithful to her Bible and had such love for the College that it is just the memorial she would have liked to think of, and it is the gift of friends she loved most dearly. To-morrow—January 2—will be the anniversary of her birth.—Always yours affectionately,

J. HEREFORD.

The year 1901 was that of his Second Visitation. On this occasion he selected as the chief topic of general interest the problem of Church Reform. He had little hope of the "Convocations Bill" promoted by the Church Reform League, which was gradually transformed into the Enabling Act of 1919; and he had no sympathy at all with attacks on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as the Final Court of Appeal in Causes Ecclesiastical. But he had practical suggestions to make which derive a peculiar interest from the subsequent course of events. He did earnestly desire to give the people a real share in the control and direction of church life at the point when it immediately affects them, that is in the parishes.

Under these circumstances, as I have ventured publicly to urge on several occasions, we should do well and wisely, in the best interests of the Church, to begin our reforming legislation where the shoe pinches, that is, by the establishment of a Church Council in every parish; and the constitutional basis on which to establish such Councils should be broad enough to safeguard the national character of the Church.

This, I incline to think, would be reasonably secured, if it were enacted that every parishioner, who is a member of the Parish Vestry, and claims to be a member of the Church of

England as by law established, shall be qualified to vote in the election of the Church Council.

Every such parishioner should also be qualified to serve upon the Council on declaring that he attends or desires to attend the Church as his habitual place of religious worship.

If it is asked what powers should be given to a Church Council so elected, my reply would be that these powers should be embodied in some such provisions as the following :

(1) It shall not be lawful for the Incumbent or Curate-in-charge of a parish to introduce any changes in the mode of conducting public worship without giving due notice and obtaining the consent of his Church Council. If this consent is withheld, the Incumbent or Curate-in-charge may appeal to the Bishop for his decision on the subject, and the Bishop, after conference with the Incumbent or Curate-in-charge and the Council, and after full and careful consideration of the matter, shall make an order embodying his decision.

(2) If the Council desires any reasonable and lawful change to be made in regard to the conduct of public worship, and the Incumbent or Curate-in-charge declines to make it, the Council may appeal to the Bishop, who shall, after full and careful consideration of the matter, make an order embodying his decision.

(3) If in any case the Bishop's order is objected to by either party, an appeal shall be allowed to the Archbishop, whose decision shall be final.

(4) If during a vacancy the parishioners through the Church Council petition the Bishop with reference to the mode of conducting public worship which the parishioners desire, it shall be the duty of the Bishop to make an order on the subject, having due regard to the wishes of the parishioners, and this order shall be binding on the new Incumbent.

(5) Any Incumbent or Curate-in-charge who shall disregard the order of the Bishop or Archbishop given under this Act, shall be forthwith admonished by the Bishop.

If he fails to obey the admonition within three months, this failure shall *ipso facto* involve the immediate voidance of the benefice, or the lapse of his licence, as the case may be.

The Charge closed with words that have a special appropriateness to a time when the effects of a war more desolating than that in South Africa are present on every side.

As we enter on a new century, the thought inevitably haunts

us, the inquiry arises persistently—What are likely to be the fortunes and influence of our Church of England in the coming time? But these thoughts and these inquiries are, I fear, hardly profitable. It may well be that our Lord would answer, “What is that to thee? Follow thou me.”

The one thing which is only too clear at this moment is that, as a nation, we do not begin the new century very well.

We begin it involved in a desolating war—a war in which the Church has given little guidance; “her prophets have found no vision from the Lord.”

We begin it with heavy burdens of taxation and debt newly laid upon us, and much needed social reforms indefinitely postponed in consequence. We begin it with the materialistic spirit and the greed of wealth very strong in the midst of us, and with many doubtful signs on the horizon in front of us.

Under such circumstances we may do well to set our faces towards the uncertain future and its difficulties and dangers in a chastened spirit.

England in the Victorian age has been very prosperous, replenished like ancient Tyre, and made very glorious in the midst of the seas; and if, as we grow wealthy by reason of our commerce and the multitude of our wares, we were infected in some degree by that spirit which the ancient Greeks called *ὑβρις*, the insolence of pride, we have had our reminders, and these may be for our ultimate good, that *ὑβρις* is followed very close by *νέμεσις*, its inevitable attendant.

One good result of all this for which I pray is, that it may help our Church to shake herself free from that spirit of political subserviency and timidity which paralyses her prophetic powers, so that she may do more than hitherto to impress on our English life the spirit of Jesus, her Lord; but to do so we must hark back continually and unreservedly to the gospel sources; we shall have to discard many ecclesiastical traditions, and lay fresh hold on the principles embodied in the Saviour's manifestation of the Divine life; we shall have to emancipate our hearts from their slavery to selfish instincts and materialistic influences, and to persuade men to adopt the spirit of Christ in its reality, as the dominating and determining spirit in political, no less than in individual, conduct, in public as in private affairs.

The proposal made in this Charge that the people of a parish should have control over any change in the services puts into a more definite and formulated shape a suggestion that he had already made in his address to the Diocesan

Conference in 1898. The Act of Uniformity Amendment Act (1872) lays it down that a special service may not contain anything which does not form part of the Bible or the Prayer Book excepting anthems and hymns. This if literally interpreted would go far to make the composition of special services suitable to different occasions impossible. Archbishop Temple had ruled that the Act was to be interpreted as permitting anything that expressed the spirit of some part of the Bible or of the Prayer Book, giving as an instance the Collect for the Sixth Sunday after Epiphany, which he declared would be within the limits allowed by the Act even if it were not already in the Prayer Book. This had brought Sir William Harcourt into the lists with a series of letters to *The Times* on "The Crisis in the Church." Of these, and a great deal more commotion, the Archbishop, according to his wont, took no notice whatever. He had, as a matter of fact, discussed the matter privately with several Judges and had virtually assured himself that if the matter came into the Courts the decision would be in his favour. Percival, however, was not prepared to trust the Bishops with so large a liberty. Too many of them regarded doctrines, which he held erroneous, as "in the spirit of the Bible and Prayer Book." But by means of an elaborate system of checks and counter-checks he thought safety could be secured; the real importance of his proposal was its introduction in a very prominent way of the rights of the laity. On September 21, 1898, he addressed his Diocesan Conference as follows :

On one subject of present interest and permanent importance to the Church I feel that you may expect me to dwell for a moment on such an occasion as this. I refer to what it seems to be the fashion to describe as the Bishop's *jus liturgicum*, or, in plain English, his power to draw up or sanction special forms of service for use in our churches. This power is limited by the words of the Act of Uniformity Amendment Act (1872), which declare that a special service must contain nothing which does not form part of Holy Scripture or the Book of Common Prayer, excepting anthems or hymns. On the real meaning of this clause in the Act authorities are not fully agreed. It is held by some that the reasonable understanding of this provision is

that it gives power to a Bishop to sanction any prayers or services which, though not in the exact language of the Bible or Prayer Book, are in his judgment in accordance with the spirit and doctrine of the Bible and the Prayer Book. This at first sight would seem to be a not unreasonable contention, but when examined more closely it is found to open the door to an amount of liberty of interpretation which can hardly have been intended, and which, notwithstanding my personal devotion to liberty, I feel almost afraid to contemplate. In all such matters we have to look not simply at what might be done to-day or to-morrow, or by any one of us, but in course of time. And what might be the result in course of time of the exercise of this vaguely-defined power by thirty-three Diocesan Bishops, all liable to be influenced in the process, I might even say "squeezed" by their various clergy, I do not venture to predict. One thing, however, is tolerably certain. The Prayer Book would be overlaid by a mass of clerically-made services, made no doubt by pious men, and with the best intentions, but in part dug up from all sorts of ecclesiastical quarters, and full of idiosyncrasies, services which had not, like the Prayer Book itself, received the assent of the Crown, or been submitted in any way to the judgment of the laity. Thus it would in effect constitute a new departure; it could hardly be described as constitutional in its spirit, and I fear it would be fraught with no little danger for the future. How, then, in practice are these dangers to be avoided while giving that amount of reasonable and wholesome liberty which we cannot refuse if we have a genuine desire to foster and strengthen the spiritual life of the community by every available means? The natural and safest way of doing this in accordance with the spirit of our Church and of our national life would seem to be by what might be called the process of a carefully-regulated local option; in other words, by requiring the sanction of the people of the parish for any extra uses subject to the veto of the Bishop if they contravene the law or doctrine of the Church. Such local option in concrete shape might run thus: "If it is desired on special occasions, as hitherto, or for religious purposes not provided for in the Book of Common Prayer or under the Acts of Uniformity, to hold additional or extraordinary religious meetings or services in the Church, and to use some special form of prayer, or to offer unwritten prayers, the holding of such meetings and the forms of service to be used must be approved beforehand by the Incumbent, and also by the majority of the parishioners assembled in public vestry, or as otherwise ordered, and any form of service and any printed prayers thus used must be sent to the Bishop

beforehand, that he, as guardian of the law and doctrine of the Church in his diocese, may have the opportunity of intervening to stop the proposed meetings or services, if they are contrary to the law or doctrine of the Church of England. If the Bishop gives his approval this shall in all cases be subject to the sanction of the Archbishop, so as to avoid the confusion of different interpretations of law and doctrine in different dioceses." I would require such a reference to the Archbishop because I deprecate the growth of separate diocesan uses, and the tendency to split the Church into dioceses in such matters constitutes what might easily become a growing danger to Church unity. In this way it ought to be possible to so combine loyal obedience to the Bible and the Prayer Book, the spirit of unity in diversity, constitutional order, and the free enjoyment of a reasonable and wholesome liberty, as to satisfy every earnest and devout worker in any section of our comprehensive Church.

In this, as in so many other matters, the ultimate issue seems likely to be in detail and method very different from Percival's proposal. Yet the principle which he laid down is now being increasingly applied, and no one doubts that the new Parochial Church Councils, established on a statutory basis under the Enabling Act of 1919, will afford a channel through which the laity will exercise a far greater influence than in the past over the form of services in the Parish Church. He was a true pioneer; as we look back, we can disentangle the principles he advocated from the particular proposals in which he embodied them, and can see how truly, in many ways, he was sowing the seeds of future progress.

But in this proposal we have also an illustration of what constantly occurred in Percival's life. Over and over again he made suggestions which were in principle adopted many years later. But he was liable to work them out in detail at the time when he first put them forward, and that in a shape calculated to alienate rather than to attract those whose support was indispensable for success. He was a man in advance of his time; that was his greatness. But along with this went a real defect, for he was also a man intellectually aloof.

CHAPTER VII

EDUCATION BILLS

THE earlier years of Percival's episcopate were largely filled by controversy about Voluntary Schools and the various Education Bills introduced by successive Governments. The whole period of this controversy lasted from 1895 till 1906, but the one important measure to be passed into an Act was that of 1902-3. The history as a whole must be studied elsewhere ; but Percival took an important part in it, and there can be little doubt that the long struggle had a great influence on his own general position. Percival was almost alone among prominent Churchmen in the advocacy of the scheme which seemed to him the right one. He thought that the policy officially adopted by the Church was really due to a whole conception of the Church which he regarded as false. Hence the constant and solitary opposition to the Church policy somewhat hardened him in his resistance to the prevailing movements in Church life during the years when he was a Bishop.

In the autumn of 1895 the Church leaders determined to approach the Government with an appeal for further State Aid to Denominational Schools. Until 1870 the greater part of the education given to the children of the poorer classes was given in denominational schools. In 1870 Mr. Gladstone's Administration made elementary education universally compulsory and set up the School Boards. In what were then called Board Schools, and now Provided Schools, undenominational religious instruction was given. Lord Salisbury's Administration had followed the line of

logical development by making the Board Schools free. This was a serious matter for the denominational schools, which began to be left behind in equipment. In November 1895 a strong deputation, led by the two Archbishops and comprising most of the Bishops as well as a large group of distinguished clergy and laity, waited on Lord Salisbury, and presented a memorial appealing for further help for the voluntary schools. In *The Times* of November 21, 1895, is to be found both the report of the speeches made on this occasion, and also the following letter from the Bishop of Hereford :

ADDITIONAL STATE AID TO VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS

To the Editor of "The Times"

SIR—As one of those Churchmen who are not able to support the memorial to Lord Salisbury, I desire, with your indulgence, to state very briefly why we cannot do so.

In some of the requests contained in this memorial we could very heartily concur if they were duly conditioned, but in two respects it is highly objectionable to those of us who, while desiring to secure to Churchmen their legitimate rights and freedom, cannot forget that as members of the national Church we ought not to encourage a separatist and internecine policy in this matter of national education.

Thus we hold that in all schools that are largely supported by public money the local public, as being that portion of the contributors primarily concerned, ought in common justice to have some share in the management ; and this memorial to be satisfactory ought to have expressed the readiness of Churchmen to accept such representation, provided that the denominational principle for which the memorialists are contending is duly safeguarded.

We may be told that they are indicating the right and claim of parents to determine the character of the religious instruction provided for their children ; but there is a good deal of insincerity in the common use of this cry. The real object of the present struggle is to secure larger grants from the State, and yet to hold on to the exclusive denominational management of schools and the exclusive denominational appointment of teachers, so that not the parents but the managers may determine the character of the religious instruction to be provided. Hence the

objection to giving to the people any representative share in the management.

In connection with this part of the question there is another point to be urged. Subject to the same safeguards for the denominational principles, I submit that no Voluntary School ought to receive larger grants from the public purse so long as its managers are prohibited by its trust deeds from employing any teacher who is a Nonconformist. In thousands of parishes where there are no Board Schools this prohibition, if I am correctly informed, actually closes the door of the teaching profession to the children of conscientious Nonconformist parents, and constitutes an injustice and a hardship against which Churchmen would rebel as intolerable if the case were reversed, so that over a large portion of England the children of Church people could not be trained and employed as teachers without abandoning their Churchmanship. This being the case, it is to be regretted that the memorialists should have omitted or declined to express their readiness to do away with such a disability.

While thus omitting what it should have contained, the memorial, on the other hand, contains one request which, if granted, would take us back, so to speak, to the days of King Stephen, for it amounts to nothing less than demanding the right to levy private war on Board Schools.

Lord Salisbury is asked to give "Liberty to provide in any district annual grant schools where the department is satisfied that no satisfactory provision exists for the children for whom this school is intended, regard being had to the religious beliefs of the parents."

It is not easy to imagine that the Cabinet and the House of Commons could ever be persuaded to pass such an enactment; but, supposing it to have become law, how will it be used? The answer is almost too obvious to need categorical statement. It will be used by Romanists and extreme Churchmen as an irresistible instrument for the crippling or capturing of Board Schools by means of funds largely supplied from the public purse. In one place and another enthusiastic denominationalists will be persuaded to build a school almost next door to existing Board Schools; means will be found to fill it with children attracted from the neighbouring Board School; and the application for an annual grant under this clause will then be made in terms which it will be impossible for the Department to resist. It may be left to the imagination of your readers to picture the local divisions, heartburnings, and bitterness which would ensue as the natural fruits of such a policy. The little child would be set in the midst of such a society as the symbol of theological strife

and contention ; and yet we say that nothing is nearer to our hearts at the present time than Christian union or reunion.

Some of the fair-minded men who have joined in framing this memorial would, no doubt, be among the first to deplore such a use of this annual grant clause as I have indicated ; but they would be absolutely powerless to prevent it, and their militant friends would snap their fingers at any remonstrance. It would be as reasonable to present a rifle or revolver to a Turk or Kurd in Armenia with a pious hope that he would kindly abstain from ever using it against a Christian as to give this liberty to those dogmatists who have expressed their hatred of the Board School system, and expect them not to employ it for the crippling or capture of Board Schools whenever opportunity might arise. It is painful to be obliged to point out these grave objections to a memorial which has received such distinguished support ; but in a matter of such moment it becomes a plain duty to put conviction before respect of persons ; and it is commonly believed that many of these eminent men in their hearts regret this ill-omened controversy, which the majority of sober-minded Englishmen, interested as they are both in the Christian education of our children and in the promotion of peace and goodwill, sincerely deplore, though they have not always the strength to stand firm against the current of the moment. Most sincerely, therefore, do I hope that the Cabinet may be wiser than their petitioners, and may say to us, " a predominant portion of the electors throughout the country evidently desires freedom for denominational teaching, and we are prepared to give this freedom under reasonable conditions ; but in all cases any additional grant of money from public sources must in common fairness be accompanied by some amount of local public control ; and we will allow no liberty to partisans of either denominational or undenominational schools to wage internecine warfare at the public cost, to the detriment of education, and to the destruction of local peace and goodwill." By such action a Conservative Cabinet would be adopting a truly Conservative policy, and would save Churchmen from their own lack of faith in the people, a lack of faith which is all the more curious because we Churchmen so consistently affirm and believe we have the people on our side.—Your obedient servant,

J. HEREFORD.

November 20, 1895.

To this letter a vigorous reply was made by Archdeacon (now Canon) J. M. Wilson, as a liberal Churchman who had

signed the memorial to Lord Salisbury. The controversy continued ; measures were introduced which did not pass. It was not until 1902 that matters came to a head. In that year Percival stated his position in a paper read to the Church Congress. After some preliminary observations he offered the following policy for consideration :

As regards generalities, I will only ask you to accept two or three statements which I take to be the expression of fundamental principles not to be disregarded or forgotten.

(1) Equity or fair dealing, as between citizens of different religious denominations, requires that there should be within reach of every poor man's child an efficient school, managed either by a committee, of which the majority is publicly appointed and locally representative, or by the religious denomination to which he himself belongs.

(2) Public rates and taxes, whether used for education or any other purpose, should be administered by persons appointed by, and responsible to, the contributing public.

(3) Efficiency and economy in our elementary education alike demand that small schools should not be needlessly multiplied.

What, then, is the sort of scheme which under present circumstances it is the duty of Churchmen to aim at as being most likely to fulfil the various conditions I have here indicated ?

I submit that it should be a scheme which is sufficiently varied to meet the very diverse conditions of rural and urban life, and that it should not involve the divorce of secular and religious instruction, that is to say, the establishment of two systems of management, one for religious and the other for secular education. Such a divorce might all too easily end in the loss of all systematic religious instruction to multitudes of children, and this is a risk we ought not to run. Therefore I rule out all suggestions of compromise based on this divorce.

Turning now to my scheme we find that the country, educationally surveyed, consists of two kinds of area, first the single school area of our rural districts, where there is only one elementary school within reach, and parents have no alternative but to send their children to this school ; and secondly, the area, generally a city or town, in which parents have a choice, according to their preference, and which we may for convenience designate the local option area.

For clearness I present my scheme in separate parts, but I must beg you to bear in mind that it hangs together and is to be considered as a whole, pervaded by the spirit of mutual concession,

and thus making for peace and goodwill and efficiency and progress.

We fix our attention first on the single school area. Here the school is either a Church School or a Board School. The Roman Catholic School, which might have caused us trouble, is practically confined to those areas in which there is a choice of school, and will consequently be dealt with when we come to the local option area.

If the only available school is a Board School, its successor under the Bill will be a Local Authority School, managed either directly by the Local Authority itself or by a committee of its appointment. In every such school I propose that Biblical teaching (subject of course to the conscience clause, which I assume to operate in all schools) shall be given at stated times by fit and competent teachers as a regular part of its curriculum. Thus there will be no purely secular schools in these areas, and it will be noted that my proposal lays on the managers the duty of satisfying themselves by all necessary inquiries concerning the teachers whom they appoint to give Bible lessons, as to their fitness and competency for this responsible work. This provision amounts to a highly valuable and very reasonable amendment of the Cowper-Temple Clause, the objectionable thing in connection with this clause being, not that it prohibits the teaching of denominational formularies or catechisms, but that it prohibits, or has been interpreted as prohibiting, the managers of a school from inquiring into the fitness and competency of a candidate for office to give Biblical instruction.

Further, I would admit to these schools denominational teachers provided by any denomination at its own cost, whether members of the school staff or otherwise, to give denominational religious teaching to children of that denomination, either at the beginning or end of a school meeting, but outside the regular hours of school attendance.

If, on the other hand, the only school available is denominational in character, let us say, for example, a Church School, my proposal runs as follows :

The committee of management shall be counted as a committee of the Local Educational Authority, and shall be appointed one-third by that Authority, one-third by the Parish in which the school stands, and one-third by the Church owners or trustees of the building.

The teachers shall be appointed by the whole committee of management, all posts being equally open to candidates of different religious denominations, except that if a majority of the children belong to the Church, the managers representing

the Church may, at the time of appointment, require the head teacher to be a member of the Church.

The religious instruction shall consist partly of Bible lessons on stated days as arranged by the managers, and partly of instruction in the doctrine and formularies of the Church, for which the clergy of the parish are to have free access to the school at reasonable times. Ministers or other duly authorised teachers of other denominations are to have liberty to give special religious instruction to the children of their own denomination before or after a regular school meeting, but outside the ordinary hours of school attendance, and at the cost of their denomination.

Such is the scheme I advocate for the single school area. I advocate it as giving what is just and fair to other denominations, whilst the Church has nothing to fear from it. To put the matter in its most concrete and practical form, my belief is that there is hardly an Incumbent in this room who under this scheme would not find himself with a working majority of Churchmen on the managing committee of his school; and if there should be one here and there who could not secure so much support in his parish, his clerical neighbours would probably have to admit that he has deserved his fate; and I am perfectly certain that there is not one Incumbent amongst us who would be in any way hindered under it from instructing his children fully and freely in the doctrine and practice of our Church.

On the other hand, it would bring us the blessings of religious peace in place of religious dissension on this subject, because it would so far satisfy reasonable nonconformists as practically to put an end to nonconformist agitation, or to reduce it to comparative insignificance.

We turn next to the local option area, which may be defined as an area in which there is both a Local Authority School and also a denominational school—it may be a Church School or a Roman Catholic School, according to denominational requirements—within reach of every child.

The Local Authority School will be managed and conducted just as in the single school area, and open to all children whose parents do not prefer the denominational school, so that in this area, it will be observed, parents have no religious grievance.

The denominational school, whether Anglican or Roman Catholic, or belonging to some other denomination, may under these circumstances be equitably managed and conducted as follows:

The committee of management to be a committee of the Local Educational Authority, and to be appointed as in Clause 7 of the Bill.

The teachers to be appointed by the managers.

The religious instruction to be given in accordance with the Trust Deed, where such Trust Deed exists, subject, of course, to a conscience clause, by the clergy of the denomination or other fit and competent teachers, the necessary arrangements being made by the managers.

Under this arrangement, Roman Catholics should be satisfied, and also our Anglican clergy, whilst, as I have indicated above, the parents have no longer any grievance, as they have free choice of school. If there be a grievance left to deal with, it is solely of the political or constitutional character, and should not be insuperable. It may be argued that it is unconstitutional to hand over public monies to be administered by these Roman or Anglican school committees, two-thirds of which are nominated or appointed by the denominational owners of the school buildings. Seeing, however, that under this scheme such committees occupy the subordinate position of committees of the publicly-appointed Local Authority, and bearing in mind that the rights of parents have been completely safeguarded, it will, I hope, be generally acknowledged by practical and fair-minded men that substantial justice is secured by it.

Such is my suggested scheme. You may, if you will, call it a compromise, or by any other name that seems more suitable, but by whatever name it is called, I earnestly desire its acceptance, because I am convinced that the sectarian warfare which threatens us, unless it can be averted by the general acceptance of some such scheme as this, will prove disastrous alike to the progress of popular education, to the work and influence of our Church, and to the general spirit of true religion among both Churchmen and Nonconformists.

It offers a practical settlement of differences which, as I believe, is still possible, and I hold it to be at this moment our primary duty as Churchmen, laying aside all prejudices and partial affections, to consider such a proposal dispassionately on its merits, and to support it by our influence, unless we have something else to propose which we have reason to believe will be more likely to bring peace and goodwill.

So I conclude with Horace's very reasonable request, which I take the liberty of addressing equally to Mr. Balfour and Cardinal Vaughan and Dr. Clifford, and to every Churchman here present—

Si quid novisti rectius istis
Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.

In October 1902 Percival published in the *Nineteenth*

Century a "Plea for Mutual Concessions." He did not like the Bill as it was drafted by the Government ; but he could not join in mere condemnation of it. Neither party, however, was disposed to make concessions. The Bill went through, and though amendments were made in the course of its passage, these made it more rather than less distasteful to the Nonconformists, and to those who held that no public money should be available for denominational instruction. But, after all, only a fraction of the Bill dealt with denominational questions ; it was truly an Education Bill, and the greater part of it was concerned with the unification and development of the national system of education.

It is particularly characteristic of Percival that when actually dealing as a member of a legislative body with the Bill proposed by the Government, he complained far more of its timidity in advancing education as a whole than of its treatment of the religious question. This was the keynote of his speech on this subject in Convocation, and also of his speeches in the House of Lords. The most important amendment which he moved during the Committee stage of the Bill, during which he was most assiduous in attendance and in comment, was as follows :

Subject to the approval of the Board of Education the County or Borough Council may, if they think it desirable, make attendance at a reasonable number of continuation classes compulsory either over the whole of their area or over any specified portion of it for young persons under seventeen years of age and no longer attending school or receiving other equivalent instruction.

The substance of this proposal, in a strengthened form, was enacted in 1918 ; in 1902 it found little support.

The passage of the Bill did not end the trouble. " Passive resistance " kept it alive and discussion raged ceaselessly. In 1906 Mr. Birrell made an attempt to satisfy those who felt themselves injured by the measure of 1902. Percival did not accept his Bill as it was drafted, but felt bound to resist the root-and-branch opposition to it organised by the Church party. His own position, in this case a mediating

one, is expressed in an appeal to Mr. Birrell which he published in May 1906 :

Those of us Churchmen who are of opinion that the Education Bill affords the basis of a reasonable settlement (and we are much more numerous than is just now apparent amidst the dust of controversy) thankfully recognise that the general tone of the opposition to it is becoming more sober and moderate as its aims and possibilities are better understood.

And we have the hope that the storm of opposition may be allayed if the Government are able to offer reasonable concessions.

To some of us the following amendments of the Bill seem to fall under this category :

(1) That teachers who may be willing to give denominational instruction at the appointed hours should not be precluded from so doing if their services are not otherwise required in the school at the time.

To lay upon the teachers this restriction or disability would, to my certain knowledge, be felt to be a very harsh measure in many rural schools ; and I venture to submit to our Nonconformist friends, who may be afraid of this concession, that it carries with it no risk of unfair dealing and might be safeguarded by a requirement that in appointing all teachers regard shall be had solely to their qualifications for their obligatory duties.

(2) That facilities for denominational teaching should be granted in all schools without any distinction between transferred and provided schools.

Wherever the parent has no choice of schools—and in rural districts this is generally the case—it would be quite unreasonable to maintain this distinction. An illustration may serve to make the matter plain. I take two neighbouring parishes in my diocese exactly similar, Fownhope and Woolhope. The former has a Church School, the latter by some accident came to have a Board School. Owing to distance the parents have no choice of school in either case. Why, then, under the new circumstances of this Bill should the parents of Woolhope be denied facilities which are granted to their neighbours in Fownhope ? It must be admitted that the distinction would be altogether irrational ; but our further plea is that to grant facilities in all schools is the statesmanlike plan, and that to do so would greatly help towards a final settlement, whilst refusal would leave an open sore.

(3) In regard to the proposed Commission, if appointed, we would urge that some right of appeal should be reserved.

(4) A Local Authority should not be allowed arbitrarily to

refuse special facilities where the children in a school are virtually all of one denomination, and there is for others a choice of schools within reach. In case of refusal under such circumstances it would surely be reasonable to give a right of appeal to the Board of Education or other authority.

It should be added, in conclusion, that there is, as we are led to believe, a very general desire among Churchmen and Non-conformists alike throughout the country, that the simple Bible teaching afforded by the Bill should be given within the obligatory school hours.

We are aware that the option allowed to the parent to keep his child away from school during this hour of religious instruction was given by the late Government in their so-called model bye-law on the subject ; but many of us felt constrained to oppose that bye-law when Lord Londonderry introduced it, and we earnestly hope that the Government may now see their way to enact that during the first hour of obligatory attendance every day religious instruction shall be given, but that all children whose parents desire it shall receive secular instruction instead of the religious lesson.

If Mr. Birrell should be able to give us hope of such modifications as these my belief is that they would be gratefully accepted by the majority of Church people, and many of those who have felt in conscience bound to protest would cease their opposition.

My last word is this. To some Nonconformists it is possible that these concessions may seem excessive ; but the plea which I venture to address to them is that they contravene no principle of equal justice, and that we may fairly ask them to meet us thus far in the spirit of good citizenship and for the promotion of peace and goodwill.

On August 3, 1906, Percival spoke strongly in support of the main principles of the Bill during the Second Reading debate in the House of Lords. His emphasis was chiefly on the value of the Open Bible. He based himself on the principle of Christian citizenship, and urged that only trust in the Local Education Authorities could lead to any wholesome issue. The Lords amended the measure so completely as to transform it. The Commons rejected the Lords' amendments *en bloc*. At this moment Percival made one more appeal in a letter to the *Tribune* :

" A CRITICAL MOMENT "

STRIKING LETTER FROM THE BISHOP OF HEREFORD

To the Editor of the " Tribune "

SIR—As one of those who have throughout the education controversy aimed at a compromise which would be reasonably fair to all parties in Church and State, and believing that the Government Bill as passed through the House of Commons will, with a very few concessions, prove a good and satisfactory Bill, I venture to hope that it may neither be dropped by the Government nor wrecked by the extremists of the House of Lords.

There are two or three things on which little has been said, which should be kept distinctly before the minds of those who have the final issue in their hands if they are to arrive at a right and just decision.

There is first of all the unwarranted assumption, unblushingly reiterated in certain quarters, that the Church of England is united against the Bill.

Many High Anglican denominationalists, both clerical and lay—some of them more Roman than Anglican—have acquired the habit of posing on platforms and in the Press as the Church *par excellence*. We speak, they say, on behalf of the Church ; we represent the Church ; even bishops sometimes try our patience by countenancing this assumption ; and what I feel it my duty to submit is that statesmen will make a mistake if they are influenced by this baseless assumption of a small but aggressive minority, which happens to be prominent in Parliamentary circles out of all proportion to its numbers, because of its social connections and advantages, and because it is so largely clerical. Its voice is not really the voice of the people at large. A good many Evangelicals have, it is true, been persuaded to join this High Church section against the Bill, because Conservative politics have been very dexterously interwoven with the opposition to it, and some men don't like to part from their political friends ; but apart from political considerations, Evangelical Church people would, as a rule, be perfectly satisfied with that reverent teaching of the Bible which, under this Bill, would be the general rule in all our citizen schools.

Another fact should be borne in mind. The opponents of the Bill point to the number of denunciatory petitions which have been presented against it, as if these proved that the country generally is opposed to it ; but these petitions in no sense repre-

sent the real and deliberate opinion of the mass of Church people on this question of religious instruction. Many of them, indeed, are so wildly denunciatory that they have found an appropriate place in the cellars of the Houses of Parliament, from which they may cry quite harmlessly, *Flectere si nequeo superos Acheronta movebo*.

For my own part, I have not had the courage, when asked, to present such imprecatory language in the House of Lords ; and any importance they may seem to have is discounted by the fact that they have been so largely engineered in our country districts by two partisan societies—one the National Society, greatly fallen from its high estate of forty or fifty years ago, and doing much prospective harm to the Church of England by its present policy and methods ; and the other a Manchester society which seems to embody the spirit of ecclesiastical bitterness and violence. It is a grave misfortune to our Church that these societies have been allowed by those who might have led us in a spirit of conciliation so to dominate our educational policy and to embitter the controversy as to endanger the passing of this Bill, and thus to bring us very near to a secular system, which would make the Bible a closed book to multitudes of children in our great cities, and would rob thousands of teachers of the work and the opportunities which they prize above all else in their profession.

It is with great reluctance that I give these warnings, but the moment is critical, and the agents or instruments of these partisan societies represent and foster a spirit which must be exorcised, if we are to have hope of a continued system of religious education. Only a week ago I paid a pastoral visit to one of my country parishes, and I found that a representative of one of these societies had lately been there, and had, to the distress of good parishioners, fulminated from the pulpit of the Church against this diabolical Bill.

Happily men who are capable of using such language in the House of God are exceptional and rare, but they represent a spirit which is entirely hostile to the growth of Christian unity in our national life, and should be exorcised.

But I fear it will not be exorcised until this education controversy is got out of the air, and, therefore, I hope that the two Houses of Parliament may be able by mutual concessions to come to a lasting agreement on the subject.

I myself have pleaded for certain concessions in the Bill, and I still hope that some of these may be obtainable, although the uncompromising political spirit displayed in opposition to the Bill, both in the House of Lords and outside, has, as I greatly

fear, rendered such concessions less probable than they were before. Men will naturally say that it is useless to concede, unless with some guarantee of religious peace and educational efficiency.

On one point of primary importance, the liberty of the teacher to give denominational instruction during school hours, if free from other duties, I had hoped that some agreement might be within the range of possibility, but the spirit shown by the extreme denominationalists, and left unrebuked, if not encouraged, by the Episcopal Bench, has led me sorrowfully to the conclusion that this concession is hardly to be any longer expected, though I still hope that existing head teachers or heads of departments who are now giving denominational instruction may be left free to do so for a limited period ; but our recent experience renders it very doubtful whether more than this is either possible or in the long run desirable in the interests of religious peace and educational efficiency.

These discussions have convinced me that what we most sorely need at the present time is to sink the ecclesiastical spirit in the spirit of good citizenship.

Still, I venture to hope that the House of Commons will agree to give us all possible concessions which make for peace, and are not hostile to educational efficiency, and do not unduly hamper the local educational authority.

Should any existing teachers be disappointed, I would ask them to bear in mind that their best field of educational work and influence is kept open for them in this Bill. Their best work is done as they teach the children committed to them the simple and divine gospel story ; and all truly good teachers of the young in doing this will forget the particular denomination to which they may themselves belong, remembering only our common fundamental Christianity, and that they are exercising the great privilege (there is none greater) of thus training the children of our poorer fellow-citizens in the Christianity of Christ, as one flock under the One Shepherd.

But this, we are told, is a New Religion. Well, then, if so, let us have it pervading our schools for the upbringing and the blessing of a united Christian people.—Your obedient servant,

J. HEREFORD.

THE PALACE, HEREFORD, *Dec. 10.*

The Lords insisted on their amendments and as a result of the clash between the two Houses the Bill was dropped. Percival was deeply depressed :

To Canon Alexander

December 20, 1906.

DEAR ALEXANDER— . . . I am just starting for home after looking on at our wreckage proceedings in the H. of L. It is, I think, quite possible that our Bishops and Balfour may all alike live to regret them. They are not specially gifted with that insight which is the gift of true prophecy.—Yours sincerely,
J. HEREFORD.

To the Rev. R. Burges Bayly

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
December 21, 1906.

DEAR MR. BAYLY—I am much obliged for your kind note. The last month's experiences certainly leave one in low spirits, though I hope we may still get a simpler and better Education Bill ; but what you say about the effect of establishment is I fear only too true. We are beginning to see to what an extent it throws Bishops and Clergy into the army of the privileged and worldly classes and despiritualises the Church. So when dis-establishment comes it will be by no means an unmixed evil ; and in Wales things have come to such a pass that the sooner it comes the better it will be for the Welsh people, as it has proved to be a benefit to Ireland. In England, however, I don't expect to see it in my time.—Yours sincerely,

J. HEREFORD.

We must do our best to keep the Bible an open book in the schools.

The controversy still raged, and Percival still sought to promote agreement on what seemed to him the only healthy lines. Both in his Visitation Charge of 1907 and in his Presidential Address to his Diocesan Conference in that year he urged the following principles, which he also advocated in a letter to *The Times* :

A SYSTEM OF NATIONAL SCHOOLS

1. That it be the duty of the Local Education Authority to provide a public elementary school within a reasonable distance of every home.

2. Every such school to be managed by a Representative Committee, responsible to the Local Education Authority, and

consisting of six managers, of whom three shall be nominated by the Local Education Authority, two shall be elected by the parish or school district, and one by parents of children in the school.

3. Bible lessons suited to the capacity of children to be given as part of the daily curriculum in all such schools ; but no formulary or catechism distinctive of any particular religious denomination to be taught in them. Alternative secular instruction to be provided for all children withdrawn by their parents from the Bible lesson.

4. No teacher in such schools to be subject to any denominational test or required to give Bible lessons unless desirous of doing so. This would mean in practice that in the choice of teachers no preference should be shown to one religious denomination over another ; but all teachers offering to give Bible lessons would of course be required to produce evidence of fitness for this portion of their work, just as for any other portion.

5. The Local Education Authority to make use, whenever possible, of existing non-provided schools, if the owners or trustees are willing to let them for the school hours at a fair rent on a repairing lease. Should the owners be unwilling to let, or should negotiations fail, the Local Education Authority must give public notice to the parish or school district of their intention to provide a new school, and of the probable amount to be raised by a rate levied on the parish or school district for its share of the cost of the building. If, after such notice, negotiations still fail, a new school must be built to take the place of the non-provided school.

6. Facilities to be afforded in all schools for denominational instruction of those children whose parents wish them to receive it *outside the hours of obligatory attendance*, that is, either at the commencement or the close of the school day, according to arrangement. Such instruction to be given at the cost of the denomination ; and all teachers who may desire to take part in such instruction to be as free to take part in it as any other person.

AIDED SCHOOLS

7. Due provision for a system of national schools having been made as prescribed above, the owners of any recognised denominational school may continue their school under a body of six managers—three nominated by the Local Education Authority, two by the owners of the school, and one by the parents of the children in the school. These managers shall receive the due proportion of grants for secular instruction only,

and for reasonable wear and tear during the hours of secular instruction, but no other payment from public funds, whether for rent or repairs, or any other purpose.

No school to be recognised as an aided school (*a*) unless it is kept up to the standard of a national school in respect of buildings, sanitation, equipment, qualifications, and remuneration of staff, and general educational efficiency, as certified by His Majesty's Inspector; and (*b*) unless the number of children in the parish or school district is, in the judgment of the Board of Education, sufficiently large to justify their recognising two schools, due regard being had to economy of public money and educational efficiency.

Provided that all the above conditions are fulfilled the Local Education Authority shall similarly recognise any denominational school which may be hereafter established as an aided school.

As a practical educationist, familiar with every type of school both in town and country, I claim for such a scheme as this the support of all moderate Churchmen who desire to serve the best interests of both Church and State. Under such a scheme the religious education of the children would be amply secured; every legitimate interest of the Church would be abundantly safeguarded; and the parochial clergy would be relieved of a heavy burden of anxiety in regard to their schools, and they would find themselves practically as free as before to exercise their pastoral influence among the children of their parish.

At the end of this period the controversy with regard to elementary schools was further embittered by Mr. McKenna's celebrated regulations affecting secondary schools. Into this conflict also Percival entered vigorously. His views are sufficiently indicated by the two letters to *The Times* which follow:

THE STATE AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

To the Editor of "The Times"

SIR—With your kind permission I desire to make one or two comments on the discussion at the recent Headmasters' Conference on the Regulations of the Board of Education for Secondary Schools.

As a former headmaster I have to confess that the general tone of the discussion surprised and disappointed me; and I

should be sorry if those of your readers who are interested in educational progress were influenced or misled by it.

They ought, at any rate, to be told what these regulations are which the Headmaster of Charterhouse speaks of as unhappy and deplorable.

The chief points in these regulations are the following :

A.—To every recognised school a grant of £2 per annum is offered for every scholar between 10 and 12 who has previously spent two years in an elementary school, and £5 per annum for every scholar between 12 and 18.

B.—A school, if generally efficient, is recognised, and these grants are given on the following conditions :

1. It must have a conscience clause exempting scholars from religious instruction or observance if the parents so require.
2. If the school is a boarding-school with houses of a particular denomination and no exemptions allowed in them, the governors must, on the application of a parent, make proper provision for his child outside in accordance with the Endowed Schools Act of 1869.
3. No catechism or formulary distinctive of a particular denomination may be taught unless the parent or guardian requests the governors in writing to provide such denominational teaching for his child.
4. Teachers must not be required to belong to any one particular denomination.
5. The majority of the governors must not be required to belong to any one particular denomination.
6. Free places must be reserved, if required, for scholars from elementary schools who on examination are found to be duly qualified for admission, such scholars not to exceed 25 per cent of the whole number in the school.
7. If a school now on the grant list insists on retaining denominational management, atmosphere, tests, and instruction, the grants of public money will be £2 and £2 10s. per scholar instead of £2 and £5 ; but the Local Education Authority may give the full grants of £2 and £5 if in their view the school is necessary as part of the Secondary School provision for their area.
8. The school must be efficient, must not compete unduly with a neighbouring school, must be open to inspection, and must not be conducted for private profit, and its curriculum must be submitted to the Board of Education for approval.
9. In addition to the above-named grants special grants

may be made towards the expense of experiments for the improvement of secondary education.

To me as a former headmaster of 25 years' experience these regulations and conditions, so far from being deplorable, seem to be entirely reasonable and to deserve our grateful recognition, acceptance, and support. Let us examine it, then, for a moment.

They give liberal grants to encourage and aid secondary education on an unprecedented scale. No such liberal help has ever before been given, and the result is that those classes which bear some of the heaviest public burdens—farmers, small tradespeople, the poorer members of the professions, and others—are being provided with opportunities for the good education of their children which have hitherto been entirely beyond their reach in many districts.

For instance, in my own county of Hereford two ancient and struggling schools have been already reinvigorated by this new policy of the Board of Education, and three or four new schools will shortly be established ; and it may safely be asserted that these schools would have had no chance of success without this new aid from the Board, and the case of every other rural county is, I presume, just the same.

Such a policy, I repeat, bringing as it does the possibility of good education within reach of many thousands of homes, deserves the grateful recognition of all parents in our country districts and of all others everywhere who believe in the education of the people.

Moreover, these regulations, by requiring that the doors of every aided school shall be open to duly-qualified children from elementary schools, give a new opportunity to the clever children of the poor, and it is high time that this opportunity should be given, and the talents of such children made fully available for the good of the national life.

As regards religious instruction, it should be noted that the regulations are carefully drawn so that parents have no grievance. If they object to the Biblical teaching which the schools are left free to give as hitherto they can withdraw their children from it ; if, on the other hand, they desire the catechisms and formularies of their own denomination to be taught to their children they have only to write to the school authorities, who are left as free as before to give this denominational instruction, only taking care, as is reasonable, that the expense of such teaching is defrayed out of the pupils' fees or from other sources, and not out of the grants of public money.

As to the supposed loss of freedom in school management of which the headmasters seem to be afraid, the Board certainly

requires guarantees of efficiency and suitability of the education to be given. It could not without neglect of plain duty require less than this in return for such liberal grants of public money. There is no attempt to establish a uniform or cast-iron system of education.

Thus it will be seen that in this new and generous policy the Board of Education has entered on one of the most productive of all the pieces of educational work that have been done in England for centuries; and the attitude of the headmasters towards it is the more disappointing and surprising because many of them are, I presume, working their schools under the provisions of the Endowed Schools Act of 1869, on which the new regulations are largely based, with such modifications as these new grants of public money necessarily require.

And what is even more surprising, most of these headmasters, including those of the great public schools, have been conducting their own schools very much on the lines to which they now object, at least so far as religious instruction is concerned.

Unless things have greatly changed within the last decade the religious instruction given in schools is in most of the great schools exclusively Biblical, except to candidates for confirmation, and this instruction is largely given by lay masters who have submitted to no statutable test.

Even the headmasters themselves, like most of the public school members of the House of Commons and the House of Lords, including the Episcopal Bench, were, I take it, thus educated. Such are some of the ironies of political life; and my hope is that the parents of the middle and working classes, who are the persons specially concerned in this matter, for the good of their children will give no heed to carping criticisms, whether political or ecclesiastical, but will gratefully accept and use the new educational advantages thus provided for the benefit of their children by this new and generous policy of the Board of Education.—Your obedient servant,

J. HEREFORD.

THE PALACE, HEREFORD, *December 27.*

THE STATE AND THE TRAINING COLLEGES

To the Editor of "The Times"

SIR—My attention has been called to a letter in your columns from Sir Frederick Milner, in which he makes a sort of appeal to me. Sir Frederick invites me to observe that a letter of mine

on the new Regulations for Secondary Schools, which appeared in your issue of December 28, was refuted by Sir T. D. Acland in the same issue. Sir Frederick writes, I feel sure, with the best intentions, but apparently with inadequate knowledge, as, unfortunately for his contention, Sir T. D. Acland's letter and mine dealt with quite different subjects.

My letter described the chief points in the new Regulations for Secondary Schools, and showed what a stimulus they are giving to good educational work all over England. Sir T. D. Acland's letter dealt entirely with the colleges for the training of elementary school teachers. It would almost seem as if Sir Frederick Milner is under the impression that these very different types of institution are one and the same. His remarkable letter deserves another word of comment. It concludes with a passage which is at once incoherent and grossly unfair to Mr. McKenna ; but such a letter serves one good purpose. It shows conclusively the need of some dispassionate examination of Mr. McKenna's new Regulations for Training Colleges. So much controversial dust has been stirred up around them that I doubt whether the public in general really understand what new conditions they impose ; and many of my fellow Churchmen have been needlessly alarmed. The regulations deal, in fact, first of all with the existing training colleges already recognised, and then with any new colleges to be established or recognised after August 1, 1907 ; and it is necessary for a true understanding of the matter to consider the two classes separately.

First, then, let us look at the case of the existing colleges. There are, I believe nearly forty denominational training colleges in England ; and of these the greater part, about thirty in all, belong to the Church of England. Formerly we Church people bore a considerable proportion of the cost of maintenance for each student in them ; now, however, our contribution seems to have sunk to something under 5 per cent of the total cost, the remaining 95 per cent (except such payments as are made by the students themselves) being contributed by the grants from the Board of Education. These grants of public money having become so preponderating, the responsible Minister of Education feels that the doors of colleges thus supported ought to be open to students of all religious denominations, as they are practically maintained in operation by all denominations. Well, then, we ask, what new conditions does he impose ?

The only new regulations made which are of any moment in this controversy are the following : (1) No duly qualified candidate may be refused admission on the ground of religious faith. (2) Every college must have a conscience clause. (3) Every

college must keep a register of applications for admission in the order of their application. (4) Candidates must be admitted on the King's Scholarship examination, and must not be required to pass any additional or private entrance examination.

It would be easy to show, if space permitted, that these requirements are necessary and inevitable under present circumstances, and that no one need fear lest they should upset either the teaching or discipline or tone of a well-managed college. And it should, moreover, be borne in mind that every one of these existing colleges is left with its denominational character undisturbed, its denominational management, its denominational principal and staff, its denominational teaching, its denominational worship, and its denominational atmosphere. When Sir T. D. Acland wrote that the new regulations undenominationalised the training colleges, he must have overlooked all this ; and it is not quite fair to Mr. McKenna to forget or ignore it. Indeed, I anticipate that the general verdict as regards the existing colleges will probably be that denominationalists have no reasonable ground for alarm or complaint.

Let us now turn from these existing colleges, which include all the colleges which Church people have hitherto thought it necessary to establish, to the case of new colleges hereafter to be recognised. For these, on the constitutional ground that the State now pays 95 per cent of their maintenance (excepting such payments as are made by the students themselves), Mr. McKenna issues new regulations which are very similar to those for the grant-aided secondary schools. He lays it down that (1) no member of the teaching staff shall be required to belong to any particular religious denomination ; (2) a majority of the governing body must not be required to belong to any particular religious denomination ; (3) no catechism or formulary distinctive of any particular religious denomination may be taught in the college except in cases where the parent or guardian of a student requests the governors in writing to give such teaching ; (4) students must not be refused on the ground of their religious faith, and there must be a conscience clause.

Even here in the new colleges, chiefly maintained by the State, it should be noted that if any parents desire denominational instruction they have only to apply in writing to the governing body and it may be given to the students concerned. Consequently the parents can hardly be said to have any legitimate grievance ; and for my own part my school and University experience has led me long ago to this conclusion, that it is far better for the training of the young throughout their educational period, and especially for those who are to be themselves teachers

of others, that they should be trained as much as possible in the spirit of Christian unity.

The fundamental teachings of Christian life, faith, and conduct, based on the Gospel revelation, are essentially the same for the different Christian denominations, and can without difficulty be given in common ; and children and young people should be brought up to feel that they are the same and that, in spite of all denominational differences, we are one body in Christ Jesus. The separatist, sectarian, denominationalist tendency to segregate our children into rival pens for all religious instruction may produce Pharisees, but hardly Christians. Indeed, this denominationalist spirit, which has taken such a strong hold on some sections of our clergy and a few laymen, is doing much harm to the national Church and the national life. It is quite foreign to the spirit of an enlightened evangelical Christianity ; and we should keep it as far as may be out of all our educational system.

Our aim and desire should be towards unity of spirit and friendly co-operation between the Established Church and the great Nonconformist bodies ; and it is our plain duty to avoid everything that may deepen and widen the cleavage caused by the unhappy divisions of darker days.—Your obedient servant,

J. HEREFORD.

THE PALACE, HEREFORD, *Jan. 8.*

The controversy is over, at least in the form in which it raged from 1895 to 1907, though the question at issue is by no means settled. It has been necessary to tell the story of Percival's part in it at length, both because it reveals his zeal for education, and also because it largely explains how it came to pass that in his later years he had the air of one fighting alone against great odds. On the burning question of the day he had been opposed to his brother Bishops. He thought their action due to a fundamentally false conception of the Church. Consequently he had little hope that, by waiting till they were persuaded, he might be able in other departments of Church life to advance the cause that seemed to him right with their approval or support. Collective advance seemed to him unattainable. He set himself more and more resolutely to go forward alone.

CHAPTER VIII

THE BOSTON PEACE CONGRESS, 1904

IN the autumn of 1904 Bishop Percival went to America to attend the Peace Congress at Boston. He sailed from Liverpool on September 22. Just before reaching the American continent he kept his seventieth birthday and wrote to his wife in commemoration of the event :

S.S. " REPUBLIC,"
Sept. 27, 1904.

MY DEAR MARY—Three-score-years-and-ten to-day. That is the meaning of the date I've just written, and I ought to be thankful that at such an age I am strong enough to be careering across the Atlantic as I am doing.

The letter was finished after his arrival in America, where he was at first the guest of Dean Hodges, the Principal of the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge :

C/O DEAN HODGES,
THE DEANERY, CAMBRIDGE,
Sept. 30, 3 P.M.

Here I am, installed in a beautiful house and with a particularly nice host and hostess ; and it seems to be arranged that I stay here till next Thursday, when I am to be the guest of Professor Goodwin, a famous Greek scholar. He and his wife are very nice people, and I met them in Egypt years ago—hence, I suppose, the kind invitation. After that I am to go to Bishop Lawrence's sister for the rest of my stay.

We ended our voyage by running into Boston Harbour in beautiful sunshine about 11.30 this morning, and I feel a new man for the rest and sea air.

Bateman¹ also has enjoyed his voyage. He looks after me most carefully.—Your affectionate husband,

J. HEREFORD.

The Dean has two or three dinner invitations and as many luncheons, and one or two meetings accepted for me, so you see I shall be kept going till I am on board ship again.

On Sunday, October 2, the Bishop preached at Emmanuel Church, Boston, on the words of Micah : “ They shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks ; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.” He said :

This vision of the prophet is recognised as one of the great visions of history. But, my brethren, the strange and humiliating thing is that the vision of peace, so beautiful and so universally recognised as expressing some of the highest and best aspirations of the human heart, still remains unrealised even in the most advanced and most Christian communities.

Some 2600 years have elapsed since this prophet of the people, this friend of the poor and suffering multitudes who invariably gain the least and suffer most by war, saw in his vision the happier and better day for which he was yearning in his heart. But it is still only the dreamer’s vision of the future. We are still looking, as Micah looked, toward the “ issue of the days,” and most of us here to-day, if not all of us, will very likely go down to the grave, like the patriarchs of old, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off.

From this ideal picture of a peaceful world, permeated by the spirit of security and contentment and national goodwill, we turn to the actual reality that meets us all the world over, whether civilised or uncivilised, from North to South, from far East to far West. If I do you wrong by seeming to include you of this country, forgive me that wrong, and be thankful that the spirit of peace is predominating in all your individual and national life.

Looking around we see Christian nations—my own included—squandering their wealth and their manhood on armies and navies and all the accompanying implements of destruction. In my own country last year we spent £71,750,000 on the army and the navy. During the last ten years we have, I think, doubled

¹ Mr. Bateman, his faithful servant and friend, accompanied the Bishop on the visit to America.

our expenditures for these purposes of warfare. Such, brethren, is Christian progress in Christian Europe.

If we are to maintain, to extend and strengthen the influence of Christ in our common life in all our affairs, we must learn that selfish or unscrupulous greed is as mean a thing in a nation as it is in an individual. It stamps both with the mark of degradation. We have to learn to feel that the jingo spirit which swaggers in its pride and delights in warfare and aggression is in the main a survival of those brutal instincts that should be eliminated from every civilised and Christian life.

On the afternoon of the same Sunday he preached again, and in the evening delivered an address at the Consecration Service in Symphony Hall. This address was one of his greatest utterances. A vast audience of over four thousand people gave him an ovation when he rose, cheering again and again before he could begin. When he had finished he could hardly be got away for the crowds of people pressing to shake hands with him. His own account of the day in his letter to his wife was characteristically minimising both as regards the size of the audience and the reception of himself and his speech.

Oct. 4, 1904.

Since I wrote to you my letter on arrival here I have been pretty much on the run all the time. On Saturday my host carried me off to a luncheon given by the Twentieth Century Club—a crowded room and speeches to follow, about three hours altogether. That evening I got ready for my Sunday work—two sermons and an address. For the sermons I had large congregations, and the address in the evening was in a great Hall with something like 3000 people in it. It was a sort of service and very impressive. The people were pleased with my little address.

The following is the text of the “little address”:

Standing here, on the invitation of the highly honoured President of your Peace Society, a stranger in your city, although a kinsman, I am reminded of the words of a distinguished foreigner to whom I listened in England the other day.

“Whenever I come to a foreign land,” he said, “I make it a

rule, and every traveller," he added, "should do the same, to ask myself the question—wherein does the greatness of this country consist?" And I hope that I may on the present occasion appropriately adopt and expand this question, lingering over it for an introductory moment or two and asking—wherein does not only the greatness but the singular attraction and the happiness of your country consist?

On the greatness of the United States I need not dilate. It is known and understood of all men.

I turn rather to the secret of its attractive power. We travellers from the older world are attracted not so much by the fascination of your unbounded energy, the energy of a people who, like the ancient Greeks, are always young, as by the belief that here we may see, if not the realisation of our highest hopes for human society, at any rate the surest promise of it—*freedom, equality, brotherhood, peace*, growing as in a native and virgin soil, unhampered by those opposing and overshadowing influences which are a part of our inheritance in European life.

We come from amidst the survivals of darker ages, from the contradictions and discords, the jealousies and enmities, of our older countries, as to a land of *industrious peace*. Possibly some of you may be moved to say that the reality of your life is not altogether what we have imagined it to be—that we have contemplated it through the golden haze which tinges and glorifies the western sky as we follow the sun.

It may be so; and yet I hold on to my conception even though it may prove to be in some degree an illusion.

I go even further and venture to say to you that the American people will prove untrue to their beginnings and unworthy of their ancestry and of their great opportunity if they should ever in any degree, or under any influences from the old world, abandon their ideal that this Republic is to be in a special sense the home of *equal liberty, justice, brotherhood, and Peace*. Your free, unfettered, equal life on this great continent, under no ancient military despotism, with no hampering feudal traditions, and barring the one stain of slavery, which you have chivalrously swept away, no privileged or dominant classes—all this marks out your country as the natural meeting-place of those who are seeking to establish and to realise peace on earth among men of goodwill.

Your Christian ancestry, the spirit and aims of the founders of this City and State, and of your Republic, their high purposes, their profound faith, their illustrious names, their never-to-be-forgotten words—all alike mark you out as a nation called in the providence of God to be in the vanguard of the great army of

freedom and peace which is destined, as we believe, to transform the life of the world.

It is no word of flattery which I am addressing to you. It is simply my profound belief in your true vocation, in the high destiny that lies open to you, if only you know it and hold on to it.

This is surely the revelation of duty, private and public, which should rise before every American citizen, and determine all your policy as a nation. May your young men see and surrender their souls to this revelation of national duty, and in their old age be able to say with Paul: "I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision."

Well then, we are met here to-night from East and West to help forward the cause of peace among the nations of the earth. In what capacity do we come? That is my first question to myself: and the answer is very plain—we come simply as disciples of Jesus of Nazareth—as Christian men and women.

Looking over the past history of mankind I see no sure evidence, and looking forward I see no sure prospect of any real advancement, any certain victory in the warfare against war unless it be through the growing influence and power of the spirit of Christ.

In Europe I see some men spending their lives in this great cause of Peace, who do not acknowledge the supremacy of Jesus. I honour such men for their noble self-sacrifice. They put many of us Christians to shame. They are fighting the battle of Christ, casting out devils, though not in His name; but this I would say to them and to all others—there is little hope of any large or enduring success in the cause of Peace, unless we can inspire both the peoples and the Government of the modern world with a sense of the pre-eminent and paramount claims of those virtues which Jesus preached in the Sermon on the Mount.

There is no disparagement then of the pagan virtues—wisdom, temperance, justice, courage. These hold their high place in Christian life, as in all life; but Christ has exalted and enthroned a new type of virtues. He gives us a new ideal of life and a new conception of human perfection. He breathes a new spirit into human society—the spirit of humility, patience, forgiveness, love of righteousness, love of souls, love of peace. Here we have the well-spring, the never-failing source of that peace movement which has brought us into this Hall of Symphony to-night; a stream of Divine influence in our life, flowing from this source like the stream of Holy Waters in the Hebrew Prophet's Vision, and destined, as we believe, to become a river which no man can pass over.

It is just in proportion as this Christian enthusiasm of humanity grows in the hearts of men that the cause of Peace among nations will grow and prosper. Therefore, we are here as followers of Jesus, the Prince of Peace; and that is the first thing to bear in mind.

But under what circumstances do we come?

The circumstances, it must be admitted, to those who come out of the atmosphere of European life, or survey the politics of the great powers of the old world, are by no means favourable.

One of the most high-minded, most dispassionate, and greatest of our living English statesmen—Mr. Leonard Courtney—speaking at Manchester not long ago in this cause of Peace, after pointing to the lurid and discouraging facts of the moment, as seen in the Far East and elsewhere, said: "We have to recognise the state of feeling amongst civilised countries, a feeling which is pregnant with danger of war, instead of the old desire for pacific relations.

"Instead of a temper of trust and confidence in our neighbours there has come over Europe, and there is extending beyond Europe, a temper of aggression, a temper of annexation, a temper of extension of influence and authority, a temper of pride which is very threatening to the future peace of the world." Such are the words of one of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet Ministers.

This temper of national greed and pride is mainly responsible for that mischievous and debasing influence in English life, commonly described as jingoism, that bastard patriotism which it should be the aim of every good citizen to eradicate and destroy, planting in its stead the true Christian patriotism whose aim is righteous dealing, peace, and goodwill.

It is the same spirit of self-interest, pride, and mutual distrust which has caused the great Powers of Europe to incur at Constantinople what Mr. Gladstone truly called indelible disgrace.

Had the spirit of Christ gained any real and paramount influence in the council chambers of monarchs, statesmen, and ambassadors, we should never have seen what must now remain as a dishonouring stain upon the civilisation of our time—the humiliating picture of the armed powers of Europe, in their mutual jealousies and rivalries, and selfish antagonisms, looking on, or shall we say holding the lists, whilst the Sultan of Turkey whom they prop on his throne pursues his infamous policy of robbery, outrage, lust, and murder, among his unoffending Christian subjects.

Here, then, in this great field of international politics we see a whole dark continent of human life to a great extent given over to what in the language of the New Testament is branded as

pleonexia, or covetousness—the spirit of greed—embedded, as you know, in the letters of St. Paul in the very centre of all the vices.

This selfish greed is the malign power which makes war its instrument, and is everywhere opposed to peace and goodwill.

Such is that spirit of *commercial militarism* which has spread through a great part of the political life of Europe like some dangerous epidemic.

If it should threaten to invade your country, my prayer is that you may escape the danger and be true to your destiny as a great democracy inspired and ruled by the spirit of industrious and generous Peace. Only yesterday I read in a noble address on the Principles of your Founders, given by one of your own citizens, these words: “Our whole great group of Massachusetts’ poets—Emerson, Bryant, Whittier, Holmes, Longfellow, and Lowell, have sung together the song of peace and order and humanity. All alike have ceased to be quoted for our national purposes in the last five years.”

Is it, I wonder, for a poet like Rudyard Kipling that your popular writers have deserted these great ones?

If so, it is an ominous desertion; for Kipling, whatever his genius, is the exponent of strife and violence, we might even say of brutality. His ideals are those of the barrack-room. Compared with your own poets he voices the baser elements in human life, and his influence is downwards.

So, I repeat, my prayer is that you—this American nation—may hold on ever faithful to your own founders and leaders, and to the policy of Freedom and of Peace—the Abdiel of the nations, if all others fall away.

And, finally, what is it we have to do in and through the teaching and the influence of Peace Societies all the world over, among men and women, young and old? Once more I quote Mr. Leonard Courtney. We have to do in particular *two* things.

We have to do our best to persuade every great nation, and so to compel every government to recognise the authority of Law instead of Force in all international disputes, just as we recognise it in private affairs, so that more and more under a *High Court of the Nations* men may live in peace and harmony.

And, lastly, we have to endeavour to breathe into the life of the various countries to which we belong a passionate desire, a new enthusiasm, to put an end as between civilised nations to the barbarities of warfare with all its burden of hardship, privation, and sorrow to the unprivileged multitudes, that is to the great majority of men and women in every land involved in war.

And we meet here in Boston, in this *home of the early peace*

movement, with good hope that just as that small company which met in the study of William Ellery Channing years ago, has grown into a host in all lands—the little one has become a thousand—so this movement may go forward, unhasting, unresting, increasing in power and volume until it establishes the reign of Peace and concord among all the truly civilised nations of the earth.

This noble appeal to the American people produced a very wide and deep impression. The editor of *The Springfield Republican* in returning the manuscript said, "Permit me, as one American citizen, to thank you warmly for your stirring call to my countrymen to perform their great and obvious duty to mankind."

From Boston the Bishop went for a brief visit to New York. On October 12 a meeting in connection with the Peace Congress was held and he was the chief speaker. In the course of his address on this occasion he said :

The progress of the future is to be marked by righteous dealings between nations, as between individual men. Old as I am, I hope to see the American nation combining with my own people to lead the van of the great peace movement of the world. Even in America, I take it, you have still some progress to make in this matter. Only this morning in the State House of Boston I read a motto, which I believe is the motto of the State of Massachusetts, *Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem*, "With the sword this State makes the calmness of peace under the flag of liberty." I know it is difficult to improve on anything found in Boston. But I hope you can improve on this motto in New York by leaving out the reference to the sword. Make all the beauties and harmonies of peace, not by the sword, but by the power of law.

On the Sunday next after his great address at Boston he was present, with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Ripon (Boyd-Carpenter), at the opening of the American Church Convention.

The whole visit lasted only a fortnight, but it was a time of great stimulus and refreshment. Old friendships were revived and new friendships formed. The rest during the two voyages, the change of scene and the cordiality of his reception, were all rejuvenating to an old man who had for many

years been fighting solitary battles. And the beauty of the American " Fall " was by no means lost upon him. But he had to hurry home for his Diocesan Conference, for which he made the final arrangements in letters written from his ship on the outward voyage.

CHAPTER IX

A VISIT TO EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN

IN 1905 the Bishop's youngest son, Arthur Percival, who was then Colonel of the Camel Corps in the Soudan, proposed to his father that he should come out to Egypt and, after making his way to Khartoum, ride to El Obeid. He said that this meant—

Ten days' camel ride, doing about 20 miles a day, and you could ride horses and donkeys as well. Of course it would be an open-air life and no houses, but I could give you a tent and make you pretty comfortable.

Arthur Percival himself had had some curious adventures in the previous few years, as appears from the two following letters :

To Mrs. Killigrew Wait

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
August 24, 1903.

DEAR MRS. WAIT—I had forgotten about Arthur's photos and can pick them up when we come. He writes cheerfully from his African desert. Lately he had a quite oriental experience. His cash box, containing his medals and his money, was stolen one night out of his room, in which he keeps two young cheetahs as pets. In the morning he sent at once for a native tracker who tracked the footsteps of the thief over sand covered with hundreds of the footprints to Arthur's own lines and thence out into the desert, where he found the cash box buried, and further on a packet of cigarettes buried. Then he traced him back to the lines, and did all this, covering about two miles in twenty-five minutes. So Arthur called out 400 men, drew them

up in a line and made them march barefooted fifty paces. The tracker then ran across the footprints and spotted the thief's foot without a moment's hesitation. Measurements verified this, and when they took him back to the place where he buried the box, he confessed. Arthur is to join the Camel Corps next month.—Yours affectionately,

J. HEREFORD.

To Miss Wait

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
January 29, 1905.

DEAR MARY—Bessie may have told you that Arthur had been sent off in October on a long march through untried country with a little Battalion he had recruited and drilled for the purpose. We have just had a letter from him, posted in the Bahrel-Ghazal, December 23. He had just arrived after an interesting but in parts very rough and trying experience; and he was to start on another expedition about January 1. Part of his march, lasting for some weeks, had been over a vast plain largely covered with grass 6 to 8 feet high, intersected by rivers, and mostly inhabited by elephants, rhinoceros, lions, and all sorts of game. His men were so fever-stricken that about sixty had to be lifted into their saddles for some time. He himself escaped fever. My love to Mabel.—Yours affectionately,

J. HEREFORD.

To propose to a man of seventy-two that he should set out for a ten days' camel ride is somewhat audacious. But the Bishop determined to accept the invitation. The story of the trip may be told in selections from his letters to Mrs. Percival.

Jan. 10. Cairo.—We¹ landed at Port Said yesterday about 3 P.M. . . . We have to start this evening at 6.30, and are due at Assouan to-morrow. As yet I have not seen an English paper or heard any news. I expect there is nothing going on but electioneering, and it is rather nice to be out of the turmoil of it. In this calm Eastern air one feels humbled by the thought of the littleness of our personal concerns.

Jan. 11, 1906. Luxor.—Here we are stopping at Luxor for

¹ His eldest son, Robert, was with him until they returned to Khartoum, when the Bishop proceeded alone to Cairo and thence to England, leaving his son in the Soudan.

two days, as I got a telegram from Arthur after writing to you at Cairo to say that he cannot meet us at Duem till the 24th. This being so, I decided to see Luxor these two days and Assouan Saturday to Monday, when we shall start for Khartoum and arrive there on the 18th. At Khartoum we are to be the guests of Bonham-Carter, who is Legal Secretary of the Soudan. He is an old Cliftonian and a friend of Lance's, and he sent a message to Cairo that he is expecting us. Arthur also says that he has sent his servant to meet us at Khartoum and take charge of us. This little delay suits us very well, as we see Luxor and Assouan going up, and we get to the warmer climate gradually, and then we can return straight from Khartoum to Cairo without stopping.

We arrived here—Luxor Hotel—at 9 A.M. on a lovely morning, quite cool, and we are fairly plunged into the gorgeous East. This hotel is near the river, and outside the garden is the great temple of Luxor with its splendid pillars, and a very fine obelisk standing at the entrance. . . . This afternoon we are to ride on donkeys a dusty ride to show Bob the temple of Karnak, about two miles away. They have, I believe, done some fresh excavations since I was there, and have also had an earthquake, so I may find it changed.

Jan. 12.—We did not get to Karnak yesterday afternoon as I expected, not having got our tickets of admission, so we went after dinner and saw the stupendous place by moonlight. Very impressive—the avenue of Sphinxes outside looking so dignified and mysterious, and the huge pillars and the two obelisks inside so immense. To-day has been our one great day of sight-seeing, and in glorious sunshine. . . . We started with a dragoman at 8.30, crossed the river and rode on donkeys across the plains and up the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings—bleak and bare, with high reddish rocks on both sides—the tombs being in the sides of the mountains. You go down long galleries with some side chambers, all brilliantly coloured with hieroglyphics and figures of the various gods and the great persons buried there—a sight which fills one with wonder at every visit. We saw three tombs to-day—(1) Rameses VI. (about 1200 B.C., I suppose very beautiful and in excellent condition); (2) Seti I., the father of the great Rameses II., who was the Pharaoh that oppressed the Israelites (this also is very fine and interesting); and (3) Amenophis II., whose date I forget, probably about 1400 B.C.—only discovered three years ago, and it has never been opened or rifled; so you go down the beautiful galleries till you come to a decorated chamber with four columns in the middle, and the beautiful mummy case in the centre, and the body lying with folded hands and face bare,

just as it was placed there some 3000 years ago. The mummies have been taken away from all the other tombs. As the tombs are now lighted by electric light they are much more interesting to see than when I was here before. Next we came over the hill that separates this valley from the plain of Luxor and saw the whole plain with its intense greens and other shades—a lovely picture in the sunshine, and having had lunch at a “rest house,” we saw an interesting temple of Queen Hatasen, a very strong-minded lady who ruled Egypt about 1500 B.C. and was succeeded by a brother, Thotmes III., who obliterated from the walls of her beautifully decorated temple every portrait of her except two, which he seems to have overlooked; and, like all those monarchs, she left no end of portraits of herself. After this we rode on our homeward journey to the Ramesseum, the temple of Rameses II., the great oppressor of the Israelites. His idea was to make everything bigger than anything of the sort had ever been made before; so this is a temple of huge pillars and rows of figures to match. His own granite statue was about 57 ft. high—an absolutely enormous thing. How it was hewn and brought here from Assouan and carved so finely, and then set up, I don’t know. No doubt he expected it to stand for ever, but such is the irony of things, that it lies all smashed and disfigured, as a sort of symbol of the life of the proudest autocrat. I think he reigned about sixty-seven years over both Lower and Upper Egypt. He had some scores of children, and was nearly 100 when he died. His mummy lies beside that of his father, Seti I., in the Museum at Cairo, and you will see his face when I take you there. At the time of the discovery of the mummy, when old Dr. Schliemann had been to see it, and came back to Athens, where we were at the time, he paid me what he no doubt considered the compliment of saying I was very like Rameses to look at. It will be interesting to see whether *you* recognise the likeness.

Jan. 14, 1906. Assouan.—My last letter was from Luxor Hotel. Yesterday we came on here. Six and a half hours’ journey, very dusty and pretty hot, but we were not uncomfortable, as a young man came up to me at Luxor and said he was one of my boys in School-house, Rugby, and he is now in charge of the railway from Luxor to Assouan, so he reserved a carriage for us, and we had it to ourselves all the way. The railway runs up the east bank of the Nile, and we had the most beautiful sunset I have seen for many a day—the sky first of all golden, then shot all through with streamers of pink and yellow, like an Aurora Borealis, and palms standing high up between us and the sky. Here we are at a great hotel built at the lower

end of the Cataract since I was here—an enormous caravanserai with every modern luxury, and the finest dining-hall of a Moorish type I have ever seen.

The Cataract is a series of rapids with rocks sticking up all over the river, making it of course dangerous for any boats, though the natives seem to know their way about in it. At the upper end of the Cataract is Philae, with its beautiful temple and the new Dam or Barrage. This we expect to see to-morrow when we go on board our steamer for Halfa. This morning I went at 8 A.M. to the service in the English Church, which has been built in a fine position near this hotel, and in a suitable oriental style. The chaplain is Bishop Morley, a nice retired C.M.S. Indian Bishop. Finding he had no assistance I offered to take the celebration for him at his mid-day service, which I did ; and now I am enjoying a day of rest. This is, I think, the best air in Egypt, so dry and bright, with a breeze always blowing up the Nile at this season.

A great bed of granite runs across the valley here, making the Cataract, and it is from the quarries here that the great granite obelisks and statues were dug in ancient times.

Jan. 15.—We have just returned from our donkey ride in the desert to see the obelisk half cut out of the rock some thousands of years ago, and a statue of Rameses in the same condition—the figure all carved but lying on its back never detached from the granite bed ; quite lately some vulgar tourists have chipped off part of the nose to exhibit no doubt as a trophy somewhere or other. We are going to our steamer at Philae after lunch, and expect to be in Khartoum on Thursday. . . . Before the steamer starts this evening we hope to get a look at the Great Dam or Barrage at Philae as we start from there.

Jan. 16.—We are just passing Korosko, one of the most beautiful spots on this part of the Nile, and nearly half way to Halfa from Assouan.

We left our hotel yesterday after lunch and came down on board our steamer, and had two nice single cabins allotted before the mail train arrived. We then took a boat with a nice agent of the Bible Society who is going up the Nile on a tour of inspection, to see the temples of the island of Philae.

This used to be a picturesque little island with a large temple of Isis, and the beautiful smaller temple known as Pharaoh's Bed. The Dam has now raised the water so that this island has disappeared and the palms and temples stand up out of the water. Instead of climbing up the bank of the island we were rowed in our boat between the tops of the columns of the great colonnade and through Pharaoh's Bed, and the beautifully

painted pillars in the Hypostyle Hall of the Temple, which Bessie painted, are all beginning to lose their colours. The whole effect, however, in the sunset was wonderfully beautiful. We left about 7 P.M., with about twenty 1st class passengers, all men and mostly officers, soldiers, and men of business; and we are having a very beautiful and restful day, as both scenery and air are delightful. One element of special beauty is the contrast between the two banks of the river. The east bank is all green, while the western is beautiful golden sand. We shall soon pass the famous rock temple of Abou Simbel, with its four immense sitting figures of Rameses the Great guarding the entrance and facing the rising sun, about 10 or 11 o'clock to-night, and so I expect we shall not see anything of it, as the moon does not rise before 11. We are said to be due at Halfa at 7 A.M., and shall begin on twenty-eight hours of railway across the desert at 9, I believe.

Jan. 18, 1906. 10.45.—About 40 miles from Khartoum.

Since I posted my letter at Halfa we have had a good journey, hot and dusty, but not overpoweringly so, and in a good sleeping compartment quite enjoyable; and I have got through the twenty-six hours quite comfortably—reading and sleeping and looking out on the ocean of sand and low rocky hills standing out of it at intervals. Most people see a great many mirages—water with trees reflected in it, being really the shimmer of sunlight on the sands and the reflection of the hills in it. I have only seen it twice—whether owing to my defective eyesight or my freedom from delusions, I hardly know. In some places the sand is covered with thorny mimosa bushes, which our soldiers used to cut down for a protecting hedge at night or in battle, called a zareba; very unpleasant to get through, I imagine. We have passed some battlefields, and from Berber or beyond it our soldiers had to march all this distance in the Omdurman Expedition. . . . At Halfa, just after writing to you, I received a telegram inviting us to dine with the Governor-General—that is the Sirdar—to-night; after that I may be able to tell you something about Khartoum society.

Jan. 19, 1906. Khartoum.—Here we are very comfortably settled till Tuesday, when our boat goes to Duem.

We arrived at noon yesterday and found Mr. Bonham-Carter on the platform, and Arthur's servant, who has come from El Obeid to take us in charge, so now we have only to go as we are led.

Mr. Bonham-Carter is a nice young man, exactly Lance's contemporary at Clifton and Oxford. He is a great man up here, and he has built himself a nice house, and he is running it bachelor fashion with another Cliftonian and Oxonian,

who has charge of the Land Department, and Mr. Currey, also an Oxford man, who is Principal of the Gordon College and Head of the Educational Department of the Soudan, so they are very pleasant and easy hosts. Yesterday we went to call on Lady Wingate. They live in the new Palace built on the ruins of Gordon's Palace on the bank of the Nile, a very stately place with a large and most lovely garden.

We found her very pleasant and friendly, and in the evening we enjoyed their dinner party, mostly officials, except ourselves and Dr. T. Kayper, late Prime Minister of Holland, a very distinguished and pleasant man, who helped to bring the Boer War to an end.

The Sirdar was particularly nice to us, and is lending his launch for our little trip to see Omdurman to-morrow, and to see the battlefield this afternoon. He and Lady W. both speak very warmly of Arthur, and I find that his last winter's march, and the way he brought it off without any mishap or any bloodshed, and the condition in which he brought his troops back, has given him quite a reputation.

You would be amused if you saw Arthur's servant looking after me. He is very black, dressed in a sort of white cassock with a bright red sash, a beautiful dress, and he grooms and brushes me, as if I were an Arab pony, and his manners are nice and quiet, like those of all the natives outside the tourist resorts. It is warm here, but not overpoweringly hot, and there is a nice breeze blowing. The sky, though sunny, is a little grey.

Jan. 20.—After writing yesterday, Mr. Bonham-Carter took me a pleasant afternoon excursion to see the battlefield of Omdurman, Arthur's first battle. It is six or seven miles down the river from here, and the Sirdar lent us his little launch, and on landing we found Mr. Carter's ponies waiting for us, and rode to the central part of the field and had a good view of everything. We passed the gully where the Lancers made their gallant but foolish charge and got cut up, and so were of no use for following up the Khalifa when he ran away. The whole field is an immense brown barren plain, with ups and downs and a high hill in the middle of it, the hill running along one side of a range of hills; in the distance, on the other side, Omdurman, about six or seven miles to the west. We got back about 7.30, and two or three officials came to dinner, one being *Slatin Pasha*, the former captive of the Mahdi and now Inspector-General. I forget whether you read his *Fire and Sword in the Soudan*. He is a wiry man, still under fifty, I should say, a great talker and very entertaining, so we had an interesting evening. This after-

noon Mr. Bonham-Carter takes us over to visit Arthur's fellow officers at Omdurman, to see the town and dine with them, and come back late again in the Sirdar's launch. They are wonderfully hospitable and very pleasant. . . .

Jan. 22.—We went, according to arrangement, to Omdurman and were very hospitably entertained by the three officers now in charge of the 15th Soudanese; Rawson, who succeeded Arthur, and Ryan, second in command, and Stewart, a nice young fellow lately joined, son of Sir Herbert Stewart who was killed on the Nile in Gordon's time. Ryan took us over the Khalifa's house, a very curious, rambling place, with an immense square alongside it, where he assembled the whole population daily for prayer; and through the market, which is very large and one of the most interesting places I ever saw. After this the officers gave us dinner and their band played outside.

On Sunday morning I had to preach; the service is held in the ballroom of the Sirdar's Palace, and there was a very good congregation, and they got the largest collection they have had since Christmas Day. The palace is a fine new white building on the site of Gordon's Palace, a stately place with a large and most lovely garden, and the Sirdar and Lady Wingate are particularly nice. They insist on our staying with them the two nights we have to spend at Khartoum on our way back. . . . To-morrow morning at 9 o'clock we are off on our voyage up the White Nile to Duem and then across the desert on ponies, a regular route, I find, and much frequented, to El Obeid. . . .

Jan. 23.—I am writing this on a very comfortable steamer on my way to Duem, where we are due to-morrow. We left Khartoum at 9.15 this morning. The White Nile, or western branch, which we are sailing up, is a very fine river between low banks, and I suppose about a mile and a half broad. The water is of a brownish-grey colour, whereas the Blue Nile at this season is clear, and in some lights looking a beautiful blue. When writing last night I forgot to mention that we went for a little evening ride with Mr. Bonham-Carter, and had a wonderfully beautiful sunset, with the palms which abound in Khartoum waving their branches in front of the gorgeous western sky. Khartoum is a city of palm trees, and the Sirdar told me it nearly lost them all, as the Khalifa, when he heard the English were near, gave an order to cut them all down; but his son persuaded him to wait, as the infidels might not really come, or might be driven back: so they were saved. It must have been a dismal time in Khartoum and Omdurman in the Khalifa's time. Slatin, as his prisoner, lived in his house, and he told me that on one spot which he occupied daily he must have said

16,000 to 18,000 prayers, as he had to conform and say his prayers five times a day.

Jan. 24.—After writing yesterday we had an uneventful voyage till sunset, when we anchored for the night, the one excitement being the sight of our first crocodile, a huge creature lying alongside a sandbank. Since then Bob has seen four or five, and has shown me one enormous fellow, at least 20 feet long, I should think. He went under water as we passed, except head and tail, and then climbed slowly on to the sand again. The river here is very wide, and the banks are low and sandy, with bushes scattered about, so that I feel as if I were on a vast lagoon (without Venice) or the lower part of Lake Garda. Here and there we pass a large flat sandy island, which perhaps a crowd of natives from some village are just beginning to irrigate and cultivate for a crop to be reaped before the Nile rises again. They will have a scorching time for three months. We have a nice breeze blowing up the river behind us, so that we are getting along very comfortably; and a nice young English engineer, who is in charge of the boat, is very attentive to us. This afternoon about 4 we expect to reach Duem and to see Arthur's beaming face to welcome us. We understand he is expected to be there. He is known and spoken of in these parts as Percival Bey. I think I told you that the Sirdar and all the men in Khartoum who spoke of his last winter's expedition said it was one of the best things that had been done out here, perhaps *the* best, as he brought all his men and mules, etc., through in such good condition. It is evidently a good mark in his favour. To-night, I believe, we stay with the Civil Governor at Duem; then we go on by easy stages to El Obeid, taking about a week. It is a regular high route with rest houses. . . . We shall get about a week at El Obeid and then a week back to Duem; and we come on board this steamer on the 15th of February for return journey.

Jan. 25, 1906. Duem.—We arrived here yesterday and Arthur came on board to take us off.

The Governor of this province, Butler Bey, came with him, a pleasant, cheery officer a few years older than Arthur. He lives in a low brick and plaster house with a colonnade towards the river, spreading about 40 or 50 yards in front, and there is a nice cool breeze all round me in the sunshine.

It was a great delight to meet Arthur, sturdy and strong as when he left us, and the men he has with him are very fine-looking fellows, coal black, in white dress with sashes; he has brought about twenty fine camels and three or four ponies, so we shall be a fine caravan when we set off this afternoon. He

says he has brought the easiest camel in the Soudan for me to ride, much nicer than a horse; we shall see, and I will tell you when I have tried him. The Governor took us a ride through the town just at sunset, quite an interesting sight, streets of mud huts, with shops of all sorts, and lots of dignified-looking natives, who all get up and salute us as we pass. One part a street of blacksmiths—all Persians—who settled here some time or other; and the market near the river has heaps of grain lying about, scores of big sacks full of grain, which is the great product of Kordofan. Every sack is worth about thirty shillings. . . . This afternoon we are to begin our march and go about 12 miles to our station for the night. Here the Governor is making a garden, laying out and planting and watering, and Bob has been enjoying himself in the garden all the early morning. . . .

Jan. 30. Um Duem.—I am writing this on a fine breezy hot day while we rest, as the post from El Obeid passes here to-night, and will, I hope, land this at Hereford about February 16. We left Duem towards evening of the 25th, and I have kept no diary since, as Bob has done the necessary records. . . . We set out for Duem with twenty-one camels and four or five ponies. . . . The first thing that happened was that my pony, a strong grey Arab stallion, having only a snaffle bridle on, took the bit in his teeth and practically ran away with me for two or three miles, when I brought him up, and at last changed to another nice and easy one, and we got along very pleasantly. The desert is, of course, in a sense monotonous, mostly covered with long dry grass growing out of the loose sand, the colour of ripe barley, and with them bushes about the size of a hawthorn, and in places broom scattered all over it. As it stretches away on every side of us there is something fascinating about it in the changing lights and through the long still hours.

There are very few birds, chiefly hawks, and here and there a bustard, but the sharper eyes of the boys see many gazelles flash in and out among the bushes, and some other little shy animals. Arthur has shot one each day for food, a treat for the escort, and giving us some beautiful chops like delicate veal.

Our daily routine is to be waked up at 4.30 to 5, drink a cup of tea and mount our camels and ride two to three hours at about four miles an hour, and then stop for breakfast and rest till lunch, and then rest again till 4, generally at some "rest house." After tea at 4 we start again and ride until 6.30, when camp is pitched, generally in the open under the stars, and we enjoy a good dinner, then to bed about 8.30, with all the beautiful stars looking down on us. I have now got well used to my camel riding, and jog along quite comfortably with

an orderly leading the way in front. In the early morning, before sunrise, it's rather weird; there come all the changes of light very quickly on the bright fresh air; again, towards sunset and after it the riding is very pleasant. The sunrises and sunsets are not very brilliant, but the evening afterglow is lovely, and we have had the most beautiful silver crescent moon sailing high up over the sunset every evening lately.

This place is about 100 miles from Duem, and is the capital of the district, with an Egyptian officer as Governor under the Egyptian Governor of the province. He rode out in state to meet us this morning, and the whole place is hung with scores of little red flags, with Crescent and Cross on them; and he and his officers gave us an excellent breakfast; and the [natives?] with their band outside our enclosure nearly all day—a sort of tin kettle din not unlike the beating of carpets. Altogether the mixture of the Bedouin life of the desert, unchanged since the days of Moses, and our western civilisation is rather odd. Breakfast of porridge and milk, eggs, marmalade, etc., and all other needs in proportion, and Arthur allows me to drink nothing but Apollinaris with lime juice or whisky, and very refreshing it is. We are all in excellent condition, and expect to reach Bara in two days; and after a short stay there to go on 38 miles to El Obeid for three or four days, and then back to Duem by February 15. . . . Arthur is Percival Bey all over this district and a great person. . . . I am writing on my knee, which accounts for defects. . . .

Feb. 2. Bara.—You will have got a telegram yesterday telling you we had arrived here all right and well after a pleasant journey of about thirteen marches altogether since we left the Nile at Duem. The ride into Bara was delightful, the plain of rich reddish sand is dotted all over with thorns, looking like hawthorns, and many of them overgrown with a luxuriant emerald-green creeper, so that one thinks of a vast forest within the desert.

And now we have had a rest of a day and a half and propose to start for El Obeid about 30 miles away at 5.30 to-morrow morning. This military station is the place that Arthur built two or three years ago. He cleared an immense square for parade, about 800 yards across, and made the compound for his officers' quarters, conical huts, verandahs, kitchens, etc., and outside the square the soldiers and their families live in huts, making two villages; and further away by the wells there is the large native village. He has 150 camels here at present.

Bara has one advantage which is very rare in this part of the world. There is abundance of water about 20 feet below

the surface, so they can irrigate and grow all sorts of green stuff, and his gardens are already very good, and some day, no doubt, they will be a sort of paradise in the desert.

At Um Duem, where I wrote you my last letter, the wells, on the other hand, are 130 feet deep, and drawing water in buckets is a laborious process.

While I have been doing nothing but rest here these two days, and Bob doing a little gardening, Arthur has been squaring up his work. We divide our journey to El Obeid into three marches of 12 or 13 miles each. Two to-morrow and one from 5 to 8 on Sunday morning, in time for breakfast. I expect we shall leave El Obeid on the 8th, so as to reach Duem for the steamer on the 15th or 16th.

Feb. 4.—Here we are comfortably settled in for five or six days, and the post leaves to-night; this should reach you in London about ten days in front of me. I expect to arrive on the 4th March.

We had a nice ride from Bara. There are about five Englishmen at the Mess here at present—five young fellows of about Arthur's age [36], others are scattered over the country at this season. Two of these are officers, the others are Inspectors or Assistant Governors. It is curious to think of these young men commanding troops of soldiers and governing a vast territory with all sorts of tribes in it. There has, I suppose, been nothing quite like it since the days of the Roman Empire; and it is interesting to hear them at their Mess cheerily discussing their work and criticising and chaffing one another. We have hardly seen El Obeid yet as the camp is outside; but this being a Mohammedan festival, we saw one picturesque procession this morning—a long train of natives mostly in white, with flags and music, and carrying in a sort of sedan a very old and holy man of 100 years or more. He has built his own tomb in the city, a high and conspicuous building, and lives in it greatly venerated. It is very hot during the day, and from breakfast to tea-time we simply keep quiet; but for the rest of the twenty-four hours the air is delightful, and with a slight breeze as a general rule. . . .

Feb. 18, 1906. s.s. Cairo.—I am here safe on the Nile, sitting in the cool morning air very comfortably on the deck of the *Cairo*, an excellent screw-wheel steamer, as she floats leisurely down the Nile between the low, lovely banks just tinged with green. We are due at Khartoum about 2 P.M., and I propose to post this there so that it may reach you two or three days before I arrive myself, as I hope to do at the Lollards on Sunday, March 4.

I began my last letter at El Obeid on February 5, and filled a couple of sheets while there ; but, alas, a camel ride gave my paper and books such a shaking that it is all illegible and too dirty to handle, so I must just pick out one or two notes.

We reached El Obeid February 4, and I think I sent you a letter up to date that night.

We were warmly welcomed there with many demonstrations of native officers, and lived very comfortably in the best house in the place, and as guests of the British officers. Arthur seems to be very popular, or else they think his father a big Sheykh, as they make so much of us. You would have been amused to see the picturesque figures that came to pay their respects and the bowing and salaams.

Feb. 5.—The native officers of the Camel Corps, Arthur's own staff, gave us a great reception at afternoon tea, which was spread in a large tent. We approached on arrival down a long avenue of flags all strewn with special sand for us to walk on, and a guard of honour of the men in their beautiful white dress with white turbans and black ostrich feathers and green silk sash. It was an uncommonly pretty sight, and they had a regimental band from one of the Soudanese Battalions playing to us all the time.

Feb. 6.—We were taken to pay a visit to a very old Sheykh over 100 years of age, a very holy man, whose tomb, by which he lives, is the highest building in El Obeid. We were received by his eldest son, a man of seventy or more, and a crowd of his tribesmen, and conducted to the old man with much ceremony. He is quite blind, but stood up to receive us, and made complimentary speeches and asked after the King's health, and insisted on my sitting beside him. Had glasses of lemonade served and coffee to all of us, and when we left said he would remember me in his prayers.

It was altogether an impressive sight : coming out we find ourselves in a circle of those who had received us, who, led by the eldest son, sang some religious strain with gesticulations so violent that some lost their turbans, and one or two leapt and danced in a wonderful way.

If we had been in the middle of such a crowd eight or ten years ago in El Obeid, I expect we should have been despatched pretty quickly. As it was, we were dismissed with many salaams.

Feb. 7.—The officers of the 8th Egypt Battalion gave us tea and had a football match between two battalions for our entertainment, and I had to kick off ; also a remarkably good gymnastic display and a band of music.

Feb. 8.—About 4 P.M. we started on our ride back, being

escorted for three or four miles by apparently all the native officers in the place on their ponies, and after much shaking of hands set our faces towards the desert again, and slept under the stars.

Feb. 9-16.—Steady trekking three or three and a half hours in the morning, beginning at 4.30, and about two hours in the evening, 4.30 to 6.30. Always sleeping under the open sky.

The weather has been altogether exceptionally hot, the cold nights we should have had never came, and the days from 10 to 4 very, very hot; the nights, however, and some evenings, were very enjoyable.

For two or three days I found the heat oppressive and exhausting and rather lost my appetite, but Arthur took wonderful care of me, having provided everything he could think of necessary in the way of food and drink, especially Rosbach water, of which I drank four or five bottles every day.

Our last day (*Feb. 15*) was a day of violent sandstorm—a strong north wind blowing such a cloud of fine sand that I never saw the sun that day.

As I lay in the Rest House in the middle of the day and looked out, it was just as if I were looking out on a snowstorm, everything seemed so white.

The one consolation of the storm was that it cooled the air to some extent, but as we naturally perspired when riding, the sand made us look like pitmen coming home from their work. That night the wind fell and we rode into Duem at 7 A.M. on the 16th February, all in the best of health and very glad to be there and enjoy a good wash and the hospitable entertainment of Mr. Butler, the Governor. So I parted from my good camel at the end of our 360 miles' trek, and Bechall, my orderly, who rode in front, and Koko, the slave boy¹ who waited on us so nicely; and the journey home is now plain sailing.

Feb. 20.—In the regions of ink again. Arthur and I arrived at the Palace, Sunday afternoon, and have been most kindly and hospitably entertained, both Lady Wingate and the Sirdar being kindness itself. The Sirdar wanted to talk to Arthur and discuss plans about Kordofan and the army, and I have just seen him steam away on his return journey for fresh work. I wonder when I shall see him again. I start this afternoon and shall only stop at Cairo for Saturday and Sunday night, sailing on Monday, due, I believe, at Marseilles on Saturday. . . .

Feb. 25. Cairo.—You will, I hope, get with this the letter I had posted at Khartoum, to prepare you for my arrival on Sunday. I don't know when the train will be due, probably

¹ Arthur Percival had rescued this boy from slave-dealers.

about 5 or 6 P.M., and one can't telegraph, so you must take me when I turn up. We shall sail from Port Said to-morrow afternoon in the *China*, and are due at Marseilles on Saturday, when the P. and O. train will be waiting for us. From Khartoum we began by being six hours late at Halfa—rather tedious—but going on to the boat there at midnight on Wednesday. I had a beautiful voyage down to Assouan, arriving at 7 on Friday in good time for the Cairo train, and so reached here yesterday morning about 9. . . .

CHAPTER X

POLITICS

IT has already become abundantly plain that Percival took an active and even a vehement part in general politics. But it was always with what seemed to him definitely moral issues that he concerned himself. He often regarded as a matter of moral principle what was to most men a matter of expediency ; and his general outlook led him as a rule to claim moral sanction for the liberal solution of the question in hand. Yet he did not allow his intense convictions to interfere with personal friendships. In his Clifton days he was no less eager a radical than in later years, but when his friend was a Conservative candidate and carried the poll he could be cordial in his congratulations.

To Mr. Killigrew Wait

THE COLLEGE,
CLIFTON, BRISTOL,
Thursday evening, May 8, 1873.

MY DEAR WAIT—My radicalism gives way entirely, and I ignominiously confess that I'm highly pleased in spite of my better political self and congratulate you very sincerely. I should also congratulate the electors of Gloucester if I knew them. I hope you may have many happy years of membership, though you do go to the House of Commons "clothed in the panoply of constitutional principles," if I may be allowed to borrow for a moment the pen of Joseph Leech. Don't show this to Mrs. Wait or she'll be asking awkward questions as to whether it's a suit that'll be easy to sit down in, and whether it'll wear well, and all sorts of housewife's questions. But, whatever she says, her principles are no better than mine, and she must confess that she also is delighted.—Yours sincerely,

J. PERCIVAL.

In this chapter an attempt is made to gather up and draw together those political activities into which Percival threw himself at various times, and which had no specially appropriate place in the narrative as told hitherto. It is inevitable that such a record should be rather disconnected, for it is concerned with isolated activities and side-issues, not with the continuous main stream of his life. But the unity of his character and its strong individuality bind all the episodes together. His interventions in the definitely political sphere covered every main section of political activity—Domestic, Imperial, and Foreign.

I. SOCIAL REFORM AND DOMESTIC POLITICS

Percival frequently spoke of two great blemishes in the national life of England—the vice of drunkenness and the vice of gambling. His activities in the cause of temperance were constant, though here he was mainly concerned to support the proposals of others rather than to formulate proposals of his own. While President of Trinity, he preached for the Church of England Temperance Society in Carfax Church before the Mayor and Corporation of Oxford in 1881, and was then a Temperance Reform advocate of long standing. But his eagerness in the matter was chiefly displayed in connection with the Licensing Bills of 1904 and 1908. The former of these was strongly opposed by Percival, unless a time limit to the claim for compensation for non-renewal of licence were inserted. The measure provided for a somewhat drastic reduction in the number of public-houses, and contained a scheme for compensation when the renewal of a licence was not granted. Most reformers agreed that compensation was necessary for a period of years, because the renewal of licences had been almost a matter of course, except in a few areas, and therefore, though no legal claim to renewal existed, a "reasonable expectation" had arisen. But it was also held that to give compensation without fixing a period after which it should cease was to create a legal interest which would make further reform more difficult. Percival strongly supported this view. His attitude on this

matter is best expressed in a letter to the Church of England Temperance Society which was published in *The Times* of April 26, 1904 :

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
April 25.

DEAR MR. EARDLEY-WILMOT—I am particularly sorry that I am unable to attend your meetings this week, as the importance of the decisions to be arrived at can hardly be over-estimated, whether we consider the best interests of our Church or the well-being of the people.

The new Licensing Bill, as it stands, is so recklessly lavish of public money and unjust to the taxpayer, and raises such barriers in the way of reasonable temperance reform, that I hope every supporter of the Church of England Temperance Society will feel it to be his bounden duty to oppose it to the utmost, unless the Government will accept some essential amendments. For my part I have to confess that I do not understand how any man who gives his vote for it in Parliament without such amendments can be any longer considered a true friend of the temperance cause. By turning a licence for one year only into a freehold it adds enormously to the value of all public-house and brewery property. Having thus created a new freehold interest of enormous value, as a gift to the trade, it proceeds to levy and earmark a new-fangled sort of tax to compensate any holder of this newly created property wherever the justices decide that it is detrimental to the public interest and should be done away with. If ever there was a vicious circle, here is one.

I would urge that some such amending provisions as the following should be firmly demanded as the *minimum* ; and I hope that all those supporters of the Government in the House of Commons who really care for temperance reform will show as much nerve as the protectionist members showed on a recent occasion, and will bring as effective pressure to bear on the Government. They will, I hope, insist on these amendments as a condition of their continued support, and will vote against the Bill at every stage if they are refused :

(1) The Bill to enact that after the lapse of seven years no compensation shall be given for the refusal to renew any licence.

(2) The discretion of the licensing justices to remain as hitherto, subject only to the restriction that during the next seven years not more than 10 per cent of the existing licences may be refused renewal in any one year, and not more than 35 per cent during the whole period of seven years. This would limit reductions to

an average of 5 per cent per annum during this period, a limitation which is amply sufficient to reassure the trade.

(3) For the purpose of securing equitable treatment as between one licence-holder and another in the same district—

(a) Compensation shall be given for the remainder of this seven years' period to all licence-holders refused renewal solely on public grounds.

(b) The amount of compensation to be agreed upon between a representative of the houses suppressed and a representative of the remaining houses, and approved, or in case of difference settled by, a representative of the Board of Inland Revenue or of the licensing justices of the district, as may seem best.

(c) This amount to be raised by a special levy on the remaining licensed houses in the district. The levy to be spread over the remainder of the seven years' period on each occasion.

(4) At the end of seven years a new licensing law to come into operation, free from all considerations of vested interests or compensation.

These provisions would, as I venture to submit, be fair and even generous to licence-holders, who, it must be remembered, are now in most cases not separate individuals, but brewery companies, which have of late years bought up groups of houses as a speculative investment ; and I plead for this mode of estimating and levying the amount of compensation in each district as being the fairest and the most likely to arrive at the real value of each licence and to do equal justice all round. The time limit should be insisted upon as being the most vitally important provision of all, for without it the Bill is nothing less than a new establishment and endowment of the public-house at the public cost, and this cost, however we look at it, must prove to be enormous. It is, I observe, estimated by competent persons that this endowment would mean an increase in the capital value of public-house and brewery property of something like the amazing sum of £300,000,000. And to this stupendous gift must in reality be added the value of the new tax ; for the trade, growing increasingly lucrative under a policy of reduction, is increasingly able to pay this tax in return for its highly lucrative monopoly, and the tax ought, therefore, to be levied as a general tax in relief of the general taxpayer's burdens. Thus it becomes a second gift for the benefit of this wealthy trade.

Here, then, we have a strange paradox. All men profess a desire to limit this trade and lessen the evils that flow from it, and yet this is the trade of all others which is selected for favoured treatment and for special benefactions of this astonishing magnitude. Why should speculators in the drink traffic be enriched in

this lavish and reckless manner at the expense of the long-suffering public? What benefit have they conferred on the community entitling them to such an unprecedented gift by Act of Parliament? What, I wonder, have those who have to pay the additional income-tax and the new tea duties to say to it?

In the face of legal decisions given by the highest authorities during a long course of years, and of the universal agreement that the number of licensed houses is greatly in excess of all reasonable requirements and should be largely reduced, no equitable claim can be suggested for this kind of political favouritism; and the supporters of the Government will be without excuse if they allow it, and I hope their constituencies will make this plain to every one of them before it is too late.—Believe me yours very truly,

J. HEREFORD.

When the Bill reached the House of Lords he continued his resistance. On August 2, 1904, he joined in the debate on the Second Reading and declared that the Bill was designed for the benefit of the Brewers:

I inquire into the genesis of this Bill? Who assisted at the birth of the Bill? The Brewers! Who have been the most earnest promoters of the Bill in the other House? The Brewers! By whose critical votes in one division after another have the provisions of this Bill been sent up to this House? Again, by the Brewers! And who are the most whole-hearted supporters—indeed I might almost say the only whole-hearted supporters—of the Bill in the country? Again I have to say, the Brewers!

The Bill was carried, with the result that when Mr. Balfour's Government went out and a Liberal Government succeeded, another Bill was introduced which provided among other things for a time limit to the claim to compensation. This measure, carried through the House of Commons by Mr. Asquith, Percival, in common with most of the Bishops, strongly supported, speaking in defence of it both in the country and in the House of Lords. But the opposition was too powerful and the Bill was lost.

He always advocated the closing of public-houses on Sundays, and often spoke in support of it. Towards the end of his life he inclined to the policy of State purchase:

To the Rev. L. J. Percival

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
Dec. 6, 1916.

DEAR LANCE—I suggest that you might find it interesting to come on the 19th, as we are to have an important meeting on the 20th to discuss the desirability of the State Purchase of the Liquor Traffic. Our Dean is strongly opposed to it, and I am inclined to favour it, because if the State owned all the interest in Beer and Spirits we should get rid of personal interests in opposition to any Temperance Reform, and some Reforms would become possible. We expect Bishop Hamilton Baynes to support and Mr. Leif Jones to oppose the proposal to purchase, so it will be worth your while to come.

I suppose it is interesting in London at present as Asquith has resigned.—Yours affectionately,

J. HEREFORD.

But though he favoured National Purchase he was much opposed to the Public-house Trust. He allowed a paragraph to appear in the *Diocesan Messenger* giving a bare statement of the method by which it worked ; but he would allow no commendation of it. “ It is no business of ours,” he said, “ to recommend any form of public-house.”

His activities on behalf of Temperance were mainly of the Puritan type. He said far more about the repression of drunkenness and the restriction of the sale of intoxicants than about the provision of wholesome recreation for the common people. This had his sympathy for its own sake ; but it did not seem to him the way to secure the triumph of Temperance.

In the attack upon the other “ blemish in our national life, the vice of gambling,” Percival took a more individual line. He not only made many speeches on the subject, pressed it on the attention of the clergy of his diocese and supported the legislative proposals of others ; he initiated legislative action himself.

On May 20, 1901, he moved in the House of Lords :

That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the increase of public betting among all classes, and whether any legislative measures are possible and expedient for dealing with the abuses occasioned thereby.

This was carried ; the report of the Committee supplied the basis of Lord Davey's Street Betting Act, and so a useful bit of work was accomplished.

In his further endeavours Percival was less successful. His next effort was not directed immediately against betting, but against one of the great evils arising from the betting habit. On March 3, 1902, he moved the Second Reading of the " Prevention of Cruelty to Wild Animals " Bill. The text of this Bill, and of a Memorandum printed with it, are as follows :

MEMORANDUM

This Bill aims at the abolition of certain spurious kinds of sport, and thus at the protection of those animals which, though nominally wild, are in fact kept in confinement and released for the immediate purpose of being hunted, coursed, or shot.

The Bill does not apply to any form of sport which is concerned with wild animals in their natural condition of freedom, and does not in any way interfere with the hunting, coursing, or shooting of such animals.

The Cruelty to Animals Acts, 1849 and 1854, excepting one section which relates to fighting and baiting, apply exclusively to domestic animals ; and the Act for the Protection of Wild Animals in Captivity, 1900, does not apply to the hunting or coursing of any animal unless it has been liberated in a mutilated or injured state, in order to facilitate its capture or destruction, so that at present the animals which this Bill is intended to protect enjoy no legal protection whatever from any kind of cruelty in sport.

The present Bill is in fact nothing more than a much needed extension of the Wild Animals in Captivity Protection Act, 1900, which passed through both Houses of Parliament unopposed.

A BILL INTITULED " AN ACT FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO WILD ANIMALS "

Be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows :

1.—(1) The word " animal " in this Act means any beast or bird that is not included in the Cruelty to Animals Acts, 1849 and 1854.

(2) Any person who either—

(a) takes part or assists in the hunting, coursing, or shooting of any animal, which has to his knowledge been kept in confinement, and is released for the purpose of such hunting, coursing, or shooting ; or

(b) keeps or uses, or assists in the management of any place for the purpose of such hunting, coursing, or shooting, or permits any place to be so used,

shall be liable, on conviction in manner provided by the Summary Jurisdiction Acts, to a penalty not exceeding twenty pounds for each day on which he commits such offence, and, in default of payment, to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a period not exceeding three months.

(3) Any person who receives money for the admission of any other person to any place kept or used for the purpose aforesaid shall be deemed to be the keeper of that place.

(4) This Act shall not apply to the hunting, coursing, or shooting of any animal which has been released two months before the day when such hunting, coursing, or shooting takes place.

2. This Act may be cited as the Prevention of Cruelty to Wild Animals Act.

The House of Lords was plainly unfriendly to the measure and the Bishop withdrew it, "to await a more suitable opportunity." In the following year a similar Bill was introduced into the House of Commons, and Percival wrote to *The Times* giving instances of the cruelty, such as he had mentioned when speaking in the House of Lords, which it was hoped to prevent :

THE SPURIOUS SPORTS BILL

To the Editor of "The Times"

SIR—I venture to ask your sympathy and support in aid of a Bill which is down for Second Reading in the House of Commons on Tuesday next, introduced by Mr. Corrie Grant—the Bill to prevent cruelty to wild animals let out of captivity for the purposes of sport.

This Bill, it is widely felt, has a strong claim to pass both Houses of Parliament as an uncontroversial and unopposed measure, and I trust the Prime Minister may throw his influence in favour of it, as being a Bill of this character. It appeals to every man who is opposed to needless cruelty to animals, with its

degrading and hardening effects upon those who inflict the cruelty or witness it. It appeals also to every genuine sportsman.

My reason for thus trespassing on your kind indulgence to say a word in its favour is that when I introduced a similar Bill into the House of Lords last year it was brought home to me that many members of Parliament do not at all adequately realise the extent to which the low and vulgar and cruel forms of sport which it would stop are exercising a very debasing and bad influence among various classes of the community.

As the law now stands it is penal to maltreat a wild animal in captivity. This Bill simply extends that law so as to make it equally penal to do the same wild animal to death when let out of its trap or box or bag or hamper for the purposes of sport. It is at his peril that the hurdy-gurdy man ill-treats his monkey, or the circus manager his performing wild animals; but gently nurtured men and women may with impunity join in and rejoice over the shooting of the dazed pigeon, let out of a trap for the purpose, or they may still hunt the half-tame carted stag to its miserable death; and working men and boys may still gather in scores or thousands to see the helpless rabbits dragged from their hamper, shaken in front of the dogs, and then torn in pieces, while they yell around them in wild excitement over their bets.

You, Sir, I feel sure, will agree with me when I say that if any member of Parliament professes that he is opposed to cruelty to animals, and yet refuses on this occasion to support this Bill, he incurs some risk of being counted a political Pharisee.

To show the need of this legislation, concrete instances being more convincing than any general appeal, I give the following things which this Bill, if enacted, will stop, and it will, I think, be generally felt that they should be stopped in a civilised community:

(1) *The Brighton Standard and Fashionable Visitors' List* on February 21 last described what the writer called the wretched fate of one of the deer kept for the edification of those who hunt with the Surrey Staghounds.

The weather was gloriously fine; a great crowd of people went out from Brighton to see the start; the doors of the deer cart were flung open, and the deer, named Lady Gertrude, dashed out and sped away at a tremendous pace. Later on in the hunt, she was seen with hounds and horses still in hot pursuit, her tongue lolling out, her head hanging as if her neck were broken, faint but still fleeing, and finally she rushed into the sea, where a strong current carried her away, and her body was washed ashore at Worthing next morning. She had fulfilled her destiny, as with her bursting heart she gave a day's amusement to those ladies and gentlemen of the Surrey Staghounds.

A still worse mockery of genuine sport is described in the same Brighton newspaper on March 5.

Things of this type degrade both English sport and the men and women who get their pleasure out of them. Such persons might enjoy sport as good with an unseared conscience if they would content themselves with a drag-hunt.

(2) About a year ago an eye-witness described to me what he had seen at Tottenham Marsh on a Sunday morning—not, I fear, an altogether uncommon Sunday morning sight either there or in some other places.

About 10 o'clock several hundred people, chiefly young workmen, assembled with a large number of dogs. The rabbits, about fifty in number, were brought on the ground in bags in a cart, taken in turn from the bags, held in front of the dogs, and let go at a given distance, and their squealing as they were caught and torn in pieces was pitiable to hear. This pastime lasts from 10.30 to 1, when the public-houses are opened and quickly filled by these Sunday sportsmen.

(3) In the *South Wales Daily News*, March 3, 1902, the following revolting incidents are recorded :

A large crowd assembled at Caerphilly on Saturday and there were fifty-four dogs in the field. The rabbits were taken, as usual, from a hamper, in which they had been packed for hours, carried through the crowd, shaken roughly, then dropped about eighty yards away, and soon overtaken by the dogs and torn limb from limb in the presence of the yelling mob of spectators. Many dogs were matched against each other and half-a-dozen starting places were used simultaneously, so that the scenes of brutality on the ground may be more easily imagined than described. In the chief match one dog finally won by killing eleven rabbits against seven killed by its rival. In some cases rabbits which had honestly escaped in the race were stopped by the crowd of onlookers and brought back to be torn in pieces by the dogs.

Another sickening scene was enacted at Morriston, where 3000 people witnessed a rabbit-coursing match for a stake of £50, on a Saturday afternoon. The conditions were to kill the greater number of twenty-one rabbits, the result in this case being that one of the two dogs died on the field from exhaustion and the other collapsed and died in the evening. The report adds (and little wonder) that great indignation is expressed in the district at the holding of these barbarous contests. Is it too much to say that, if the members of the House of Commons refuse to stop them, they will deserve to come under the same condemnation?

Examples of this kind of spectacle could, if necessary, be multiplied from many parts of England, north and south alike.

Will Parliament leave this brutalising influence to go on doing its demoralising work unchecked, while every one who really cares for English manliness and self-respect and our good name for humanity, is waiting, not without some shame, to see these low amusements blotted out of our English life?

This Bill, if passed, will blot them out, while it will in no way interfere with any genuine or manly sport ; and the responsibility of the matter at the present moment rests in fact with the Government and their followers in the House of Commons. If they support Mr. Corrie Grant the thing will be done, and I have good hope that we shall not appeal to them in vain for the requisite assistance.—Your obedient servant,

J. HEREFORD.

THE PALACE, HEREFORD, *April 3.*

On July 11, 1912, Percival moved in the House of Lords the Second Reading of a Bill to restrict Gambling Advertisements. The important provisions of this Bill were as follows :

1. Whosoever shall print, publish, sell, circulate, or publicly exhibit any newspaper, circular, coupon, or document whatsoever, (1) which contains any advertisement or notification by or on behalf of any person, club or association as to betting on any event ; or (2) which contains any announcement of betting odds, or starting prices or other advice, or inducement to bet on such event ; or (3) which advertises or describes any competition or lottery offering monies or valuable things or considerations as prizes, rewards or benefits, unless the competition be for a reward presented gratuitously by some individual or educational, artistic, or literary, or scientific body for an essay or other useful work and the prize or reward does not exceed five pounds in value, or such larger amount as may have been authorised by the Home Secretary or the President of the Board of Trade, shall be guilty of misdemeanour.

2. Whosoever shall cause or attempt to cause any advertisement or notification mentioned in this Act to be inserted or published in a newspaper shall be guilty of misdemeanour.

3. Whosoever shall be guilty of misdemeanour under this Act shall be liable at the discretion of the Court as follows, viz., in the case of a first offence to a fine not exceeding £100 or alternatively or in default of such fine or in addition thereto to imprisonment for any term not exceeding one year with or without hard labour, and in the case of a second or subsequent offence

to a fine not exceeding £250 or alternatively or in default of such fine or in addition thereto to imprisonment for any term not exceeding two years with or without hard labour.

4. It shall be the duty of the Post Master General in cases where he is satisfied that there is reasonable ground to believe any person or persons to be engaged in receiving money or valuable thing in connection with any such coupon or other competitions as are prohibited in the first section of this Act or in connection with betting or unauthorised lottery transactions, or to be issuing advertisements in the form of circulars or otherwise containing betting lists or any inducements to other persons to bet with them or gamble with them, or to deal in Foreign premium bonds, to direct that any delivery of such postal articles as are, or are reasonably suspected of being connected with betting or lottery transactions other than re-delivery to the senders, shall be denied, and to refuse any issue of orders for money to such person or persons, and any facilities of the telegraph and telephone services.

This Bill also had to be withdrawn, for there was plainly no hope of adequate support. Later in the same year Percival spoke in favour of a less far-reaching measure introduced by Lord Newton. His efforts in the field of legislation had not been crowned with success ; he had hardly expected that they would be. What he chiefly desired he achieved ; he effectively brought the evils connected with the abuse of sport to the attention of the public.

On two occasions Percival intervened in fiscal controversies. Free Trade was to him something more than a matter of political or economic expediency ; it was a moral principle. In January 1904 he created exceedingly bitter feeling against himself by the publication of a letter written in support of a Free Trade candidate during an election :

DEAR SIR—When you asked me for some expression of opinion in support of the Free Trade candidate at the time of the Ludlow election contest I felt obliged to reply that I could not intervene. It was not, however, from any lack of sympathy that I declined, or because I had any doubt in my mind as to the duty of every disinterested and patriotic citizen at the present crisis in our national affairs.

On the contrary, my earnest desire and hope is that our country may be saved from all the mischief and misfortune that

threaten it through this raging, tearing Protectionist propaganda, manufactured in Birmingham.

What weighs on my mind as I follow the controversy is the thought of the serious moral issues involved in it, the harder conditions of life which it will lay as a fresh burden on our poorer classes, thus making their moral and spiritual progress more difficult, the corruption of politics, the baneful domination of capitalist trusts, vested interests, and monopolies, and so forth. It is not seriously disputed that, should this propaganda succeed, these things will be prominent among the consequences of that success; and yet benevolent and well-meaning people on all sides seem to disregard them, as if they were of little or no account.

Those who have been so suddenly converted or captured by Mr. Chamberlain are no doubt in many cases influenced by motives of self-interest. They expect their own trade or industry to profit by the new conditions; they expect to make gain out of the system of tariffs, preferences, and retaliation; they do not think of the consequences to all the poorer people around them; their trade is their policy; they are traders first and citizens or patriots afterwards. But putting aside this class, so largely represented on his amazing Commission, a great many disinterested and well-meaning persons seem to be following him blindly, without thought, and with a light heart, forgetting what a will-o'-the-wisp he has proved himself to be in his erratic career. They do this, being too young to remember the miseries caused by Protection, and unversed in the principles of economics, and consequently liable to be easily misled by specious promises and by plausible sophistries—and that they are being so misled I feel convinced.

I shall, of course, be told that I am no expert, but I have been a careful student of such writers as Mill and Bastiat, and I see no reason to doubt that the economic doctrine, the doctrine on which the continued prosperity of the masses of our people depends, is being preached amongst us to-day, not by the Birmingham tract manufacturers, but by such men as Professor Marshall at Cambridge, and Mr. Edwin Cannan at Oxford (to name only those whom I know intimately), and among experienced statesmen by such a leader as Lord Goschen, whose high authority in all fiscal matters no man will venture to dispute, and whose description of the present agitation as “a gamble with the food of the people” will, I trust, be carefully remembered and taken to heart throughout the whole of this controversy by every one who cares for the well-being of our poorer classes. It is a description for which every poor man, woman, and child in the country has reason to be grateful.

But though I feel so strongly the grave character of the danger into which the country is being enticed, I could not interfere at Ludlow for two reasons.

In the first place, as I am a member of the House of Lords, I might have been blamed for something like a breach of privilege ; but, besides this, I feel it to be my duty to abstain, as far as possible, from taking any personal part in the local contests of my diocese.

As Bishop, my relationships are with all my fellow Churchmen, and not with one political party among them, and I think I am right in believing that they are friendly and happy relationships, and I wish them to continue undisturbed.

Consequently, at any time of local conflict, when feeling, or it may be passion, is liable to be in the ascendant, and anything I might say, however reasonable and right in itself, would probably be misunderstood or misrepresented, I feel it is better to stand aside for the moment.

Now, however, that the Ludlow contest is over and done with, and in the calm atmosphere of a Bank Holiday (the fiscal Sabbath), there can be no sort of reason why I should not express to you my convictions and my fears on what is undoubtedly a matter of very grave national concern. Indeed, convinced as I am that our country is threatened with grave and serious moral danger, I should be blameworthy if I simply acquiesced and said nothing. Moreover, it has, as you know, been recognised from the days of Solon onwards that to shrink from taking a citizen's part in any moment of national crisis is to be unworthy of the status of a citizen. So that I need make no apology.

Moreover, I have some special justification for giving expression to my thoughts and feelings on this occasion, seeing how the Ludlow portion of my diocese has been flooded by an invasion of political bagmen from Birmingham with their heterodox and misleading speeches and tracts, perverting our simple folk, both clerical and lay, with fictions and pledges that are hardly worth the paper on which they are printed, or the breath that uttered them.

" In Tiberim defluxit Orontes "—and, as I am bound by my calling to be in a special sense the shepherd and friend of the poor, that is to say, of the labouring man, the working woman, and the poor child, I feel that I should not be justified in ignoring the mischief done to all of these by such an invasion, or in taking it lying down, if I may be allowed to borrow the chaste language of the Birmingham school.

Every Bishop has solemnly promised to be merciful for Christ's sake to poor and needy people ; but this Birmingham

Gospel is all in the interest of the rich, and is without mercy for the poor and needy. Therefore, as I understand the matter, it is my bounden duty to oppose it.

In whatever specious garb it may be dangled before men's eyes, it is in fact one of those erroneous and strange doctrines, based on selfish interest, appealing to low motives, and fostering feelings of antagonism, jealousy, hatred, and bitterness, which are directly contrary to the spirit of God's word. Consequently every minister of Christ is bound to do his part in banishing and driving it away.

The doctrines of the retaliatory and Protectionist tariff-monger, making food dearer, clothing dearer, and almost every necessary of life dearer, will sink the poor into deeper poverty; they will make it more difficult for every labourer to bring up his children in a decent home, or to keep them in good health with sufficient food and warm clothing; and they will grind down every poor working woman to a still harder lot. And we have to remember that the poor, who will be thus affected—and their name is legion—cannot suffer in this way without losing mental and moral as well as physical vigour. In other words, this Protectionist policy will depress and degrade the poorest and the weakest of our people, and will make the work of the social reformer, the philanthropist, and the minister of Christ, harder than before.

How, then, can any man who has been solemnly called upon to answer the question, "Will you be merciful for Christ's sake to poor and needy people?" give any support to such doctrines?

Every labouring man who may be induced or persuaded to give his vote for any advocate of these Chamberlainite proposals can, it is to be feared, only be said to be a fool for his pains; and, if it were respectful to those well-intentioned but misguided ladies of limited means who go about as Primrose Dames on behalf of Protectionist politicians, one would be tempted to say of them that they are no wiser than such a labourer, seeing that every vote given for a Protectionist or a retaliator is a vote to the detriment not only of the poor, and of the needy, and of the weak amongst us, but of every person who has to live on a fixed income.

This Protectionist propaganda—what does it represent when stripped of its misleading rhetoric and sophistry? And, if successful, what will it foster and strengthen amongst us as distinct from our present system of Free Trade?

It represents and will foster those elements in our materialistic civilisation which are pre-eminently unchristian, or, it might even be said, anti-Christian.

It appeals to the lower and baser motives, and will be the

nurse of antagonisms, jealousies, rivalries, vested interests, industrial monopolies, selfish warfare in trade and industry, both as regards our relationships with one another here at home, and with our Colonies, and with foreign countries.

It will corrupt and debase our public life by the cabals, intrigues, and lobbying which are found to be inseparable from such a system of preferences, retaliation, and protective tariffs.

It will go far to hand over our industries and our commerce to the baneful influence of trusts, combinations, monopolies, and corners, engineered by unscrupulous capitalists and speculators working in secret places.

Hitherto the Free Trade system of England with its vast ramifications and far-reaching, expansive activities, and its open door for free and healthy competition from every quarter, has proved the great obstacle or bulwark in the way of these speculators in corners and trusts, who, caring apparently for nothing but their own selfish gains, have no bowels of mercy for the suffering poor. And the blind and credulous followers of Mr. Chamberlain are actually proposing to sweep away this bulwark, so that the whole world, civilised and uncivilised alike, may become an easier prey to the tyranny of these unscrupulous capitalist speculators.

It is sad to see so many well-meaning and benevolent persons allowing themselves to be made the tools of a policy so fraught with mischief; for it is acknowledged that the effect of such combinations, which are sometimes quite inhuman in their cruelty, is to make rich men richer, and some few enormously rich, but to do this by making consumers pay unnaturally high prices, and making the poor man still poorer, and bringing untold privation and suffering on the poorest of all, especially on the women and children.

As regards our Ludlow election the rumour reaches me that many of our clergy supported the Protectionist candidate. I am very sorry to hear this, but I indulge the hope that it may be incorrect; for of this I feel assured, that every bishop or priest or other minister of the Gospel who may be led to give any countenance or support to any Protectionist candidate for Parliament will fall into the very serious error of aiding the rich at the expense of the poor, and the strong at the expense of the weak.

I have referred above to my own duty as a Bishop, but all ministers of Christ are by their office called to be the special guardians of the weak, the poor, and the needy; and the experience of Protectionist countries has invariably shown that,

whoever else may gain by protective tariffs and industrial or commercial warfare or retaliation, the poorer classes have invariably suffered thereby.

For my own part I look upon this retrograde agitation with the hard-hearted policy of preferences, combinations, trusts, and corners, which it specially subserves, as the newest form of that oppression of the poorer and weaker classes which every minister of the Gospel is bound to oppose, if he truly understands his vocation and responsibility.

Should our good clergy to any great extent take the side of these agitators, then I can only say that once more "blindness in part is happened to Israel," and whenever this has so happened in the past it has been with lamentable results. Most earnestly, therefore, would I beg all our clergy to think many times before they allow themselves to be persuaded either by appeals to party allegiance or by any other influence to give support to this dangerous agitation.

This letter has run to such a length that I must not weary you with many more words, though there is much that needs saying on the highly objectionable and even immoral methods adopted by the advocates of this mean propaganda.

All this, however, I must be content to leave alone, hoping that more influential voices may make it plain to every one who is sensitive for the good name of his country that these methods are tending seriously to debase the moral currency of our public affairs.

One word in conclusion. The first article in the November number of the *Independent Review* is a masterly exposition of the moral issues involved in this controversy. The writer of that article deserves our gratitude. His words are golden words. They should be studied by every minister of the Gospel before he gives any support to Mr. Chamberlain or any of his followers, and indeed by every one who cares for the morals of our national life. I should like to see them scattered broadcast in every constituency of the land, as the good seed of sound doctrine, to take root and grow and bear fruit after their kind, for both the material and the moral welfare of the nation.—Believe me, yours sincerely,

J. HEREFORD.

It causes no astonishment to find that such a deliverance created a genuine *furore* in Herefordshire. The local newspapers were filled with angry correspondence. There was much talk of organising formal protests. At no time, in all

probability, was the Bishop so unpopular as he became in consequence of this letter, following as it did upon his attitude during the Boer War and his attacks upon the use of Chinese labour in South Africa.¹

It was zeal for social reform that led him once again to take part in a fiscal controversy and to intervene in the debate on the Second Reading in the House of Lords of Mr. Lloyd George's Finance Bill of 1909. For the Lords to reject the Budget was, in his judgment, to invite revolution. His speech concluded with these words :

In this House we are too apt to forget the people of England outside, but can any of us really imagine that the people of England will forget—that they are so degenerate as to forget—the great historical struggles for their fundamental liberties, and above all for the liberty and the power of the purse which cost so much and which we have long held so dear ? Can you imagine that these people at the present time are at all likely to forget, or are in any degree likely to surrender, these fundamental liberties under the thin disguise, the very thin disguise, of such a phrase as this Amendment ?

No, my Lords, you may send this Budget to the country ; but, living among the people, having grown up among the people and come out from among them, I have some knowledge of their fundamental feelings and ideas ; and my belief is that the answer will come back to your Lordships in very plain English, and I fear it may come in some form which you may regret. The answer will come, I think, something like this—

“ Never again, never again, in this country shall the fundamental liberties of the people be endangered by any privileged class.”

It is not the answer I fear, when I regard with something like dread your Lordships' action, or proposed action ; it is not the answer that I fear so much as the storm and the tumult and the class antagonisms and the strife and the bitterness for which you are making yourselves responsible to-day.

The Bishop felt that he had not been well treated by the Government in connection with his support of their most important measure :

¹ See pp. 251, 253.

To the Rev. R. Burges Bayly

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
November 28, 1909.

DEAR MR. BAYLY—My grateful thanks for your kind letter. I think you know that your kind approval of anything I try to say or do is one of the things I specially prize. My little speech was made under some difficulties. The Government Whip would not give me any time but the hour of empty benches immediately after adjournment for dinner, and was very particular that I should not occupy more than 10 to 15 minutes even of that dismal time. In their darker days they thought me of more value.—With all best wishes, yours very sincerely,

J. HEREFORD.

Percival's attitude towards the Labour Party was partly sympathetic and partly critical. He approved of their aims, but was often in opposition to their methods. "What," he once asked, "would your reply be if I put a pistol to your head and said, 'Be my brother or I shoot you'?" But he realised to the full how deeply opposed to Christian principles is the economic organisation of life which was growing up all through the eighteenth century and became finally established by the industrial revolution. Perhaps he underestimated the potency of national institutions in forming character by their unceasing suggestion of the aims of life, and went too far in his disbelief in political action as a means to moral reform. But in the main, he was indisputably right in wishing the spirit of fellowship to come first and to create for itself the institutions which would be its instruments.¹

With regard to industrial questions, he was a strong advocate of arbitration, as appears from the following paragraphs in a letter to *The Times* written during a Welsh Coal Strike :

Plain folk, invited to use their common sense, look at the matter somewhat in this way.

The public welfare, they say, requires that in a civilised country two great federated bodies should not be at liberty to carry on their private warfare to the detriment of the nation.

¹ See his sermon to the Plymouth Co-operative Congress referred to on p. 82.

When either employers or workmen claim this liberty they are claiming the right to destroy the results of progress slowly and painfully won, and to carry us back to the semi-barbaric condition of the Middle Ages, to a state of things hardly less mischievous and intolerable than was the private warfare of the feudal period.

These recurring disputes, with all their disastrous and miserable consequences, bring it home to us that they ought to be made impossible.

If the electors throughout the country do their duty as Christian citizens they will make it known to their representatives in Parliament that, in their judgment, the time has come when these great combinations of persons united for private gain must be told authoritatively that combination to strike or to lock-out is henceforth illegal, and that if the parties to a quarrel cannot agree they must have recourse to a regularly constituted arbitration court.

This, I venture to think, is the conclusion to which the great majority of the British people have come with regard to these unhappy and ruinous contests, and it only remains for them to insist on their representatives in the House of Commons giving effect to their views, or else giving place at the next election to those who are prepared to do this good work.

No reasonable man doubts that a Court consisting of three of our English Judges could have been trusted absolutely to give a righteous and equitable judgment on every one of the points at issue in this engineering dispute, and that this warfare, with all its waste, its misery, and its bitterness, might have been avoided.

Surely, then, it is the duty of the Legislature to see that this process must be resorted to in all such controversies if the method of conciliation has failed, as the welfare of the whole community requires it.

In conclusion, I would commend to your readers some words of an American writer which sum up the common-sense view of this matter :

“ The public have rights as well as the contestants, and when a labour war inflicts a great disaster on the community the community has a right to interfere, put a stop to the war, and compel the contestants to abide by its decision.

“ Conciliation, the recognition by employers and employed that they are partners in a common enterprise ; arbitration, the adjustment of all questions of self-interest that cannot be adjusted through conciliation, by reference to a mutually chosen tribunal ; and the intervention of law where public rights are infringed upon by controversy between labour and capitalist—this seems

to me to be the application of Christ's method for the solution of labour war—until we come to the full recognition of the fact that the working man and capitalist are partners in a common enterprise, and the very motive of war ceases to exist.”—Your obedient servant,

J. HEREFORD.

THE PALACE, HEREFORD, Dec. 13.

With these questions of social reform and economic policy must be classed, as a matter of domestic politics, both his life-long concern for education¹ and the long struggle over Welsh Disestablishment. In relation to the latter Percival had entered the lists while still at Rugby, and his views on this subject had been among the reasons leading Lord Rosebery to think of him as a suitable candidate for the Bishopric of Hereford.² He had spoken on the question at the first meeting of Convocation that he attended, advocating the acceptance of Disestablishment and a scheme of concurrent endowment.³ In November 1911, he recapitulated his argument in a letter to *The Times*:

The clouds of dust raised by the combatants in the Welsh Church controversy seem to be obscuring the requirements of justice and common sense, and I would ask your readers to bear in mind certain fundamental considerations which are too frequently overlooked.

As regards Disestablishment, hardly any one will now maintain that establishment can be justly upheld and continued against the general sentiment of the people immediately concerned. And no responsible person will deny that the general sentiment of Wales is opposed to establishment. For many years, and through one Parliament after another, the representatives of the Welsh people have persistently demanded the Disestablishment of the Church with an almost unanimous voice. So far as they are concerned it is a settled question.

The subject of Disendowment is somewhat more complex. It should, however, be borne in mind that the Bill for which we are waiting will, like its predecessors, deal only with ancient endowments.

These are held by the Church as a national trust given for the spiritual benefit of the whole community in each parish or district.

But circumstances are so changed that they are now mono-

¹ See Chaps. VII. and XI.

² See p. 130.

³ See pp. 137, 138.

polised by a comparatively small minority, and it is consequently the duty of Parliament to see that they are equitably distributed, so as once more to serve the spiritual uses of the whole community. Equal justice would seem to require that this should be done.

We may regret the cases of individual hardship involved in the redistribution. These should be met as far as possible by the State, and by individual Churchmen, in a generous and helpful spirit ; but the outcry raised as to spoliation and robbery and the iniquity of such proceedings is as unreasonable as it is mischievous. It may, however, fairly be claimed that, as the endowments were clearly given for spiritual purposes, they should not be secularised, but should be retained for spiritual uses ; and the difficulties in the way of such retention, though no doubt considerable, should not prove insuperable.

For my own part, if no better scheme can be found I hope it might be considered both just and feasible to vest these endowments in a Welsh Commission, with instructions to allocate the income year by year in due proportion to the recognised representative authority of each religious denomination in each parish or district. The grant to be made only on application by this authority, and only for spiritual purposes ; and every authority receiving a grant to send to the Commission an annual report showing how the grant has been expended.

Some such allocation would, I trust, commend itself to all reasonable people as a just and equitable settlement.

His chief activities in connection with the matter were concerned with the border parishes which were in Wales politically and in the Province of Canterbury ecclesiastically. It was at his recommendation that Mr. W. G. C. Gladstone moved amendments dealing with these parishes. Mr. Gladstone also moved for the introduction of a commutation scheme. The Bishop supported both proposals. On December 31, 1912, he sent the following letter to *The Times* :

THE WELSH BILL

BORDER PARISHES

To the Editor of " The Times "

SIR—With your permission I desire to express the hope, which I believe to be largely entertained, that the Government may

give favourable consideration to two amendments of the Welsh Disestablishment Bill which, as I understand, Mr. William Gladstone intends to move in Committee.

The first of these is the insertion in the Bill of what may be described as his grandfather's clause in the Irish Act for the commutation of existing interests.

This clause secured great benefits to the Disestablished Church in Ireland, both by stimulating the public spirit and the generosity of Churchmen and by providing for the Church a large additional income from the interests commuted. Similar benefits would accrue to the Welsh Church from the adoption of this amendment.

The other is to the effect that border parishes wholly Welsh but now belonging to an English diocese should be excluded from the operation of the Bill, if the Welsh Commissioners after due inquiry are satisfied that it is the general wish of the parishioners to be so excluded ; and conversely that a border parish now situate in a Welsh diocese but not in Wales or Monmouthshire should be included in the operation of the Bill if the parishioners so desire.

I venture to submit that this is a reasonable plea on behalf of these border parishes, and that it is in complete accordance with the purpose of the Bill to bring ecclesiastical relationships into agreement with the general sentiment of the people immediately affected by it.

My own experience of the circumstances of such parishes has led me to believe that in their case it would be reasonable to have regard to diocesan as well as county boundaries, and that the parishioners have an equitable claim to be allowed a voice in this decision. In my diocese I have about a dozen parishes which would be thus affected, and in most of them the parishioners would very strongly object to being transferred into a new diocese. They are not Welsh-speaking parishes, and so far as I know there are no Welsh services held in them ; they are in fact thoroughly Anglicised, and all their associations and traditions connect them immemorially with the diocese of Hereford.

To avoid misunderstanding I desire to add in conclusion that in making this appeal I do so as a supporter of the Bill and not an opponent. My sole desire is to assist Mr. Gladstone in his endeavour to improve it by the addition of two valuable amendments.

The main provisions of the Bill seem to me to be essentially fair and reasonable under all the circumstances ; and I do not see how Parliament can with justice any longer disregard the persistent demand of the Welsh people as a whole in a matter

in which above all others they are the people primarily, if not exclusively, concerned.—Your obedient servant,

J. HEREFORD.

December 31, 1912.

He was engaged at this time in frequent correspondence with Mr. McKenna, who told him that concurrent endowment was impossible because the Nonconformists did not want and would not accept endowments from the State ; also that " commutation " had been omitted from the Bill on the ground that the resources of the Welsh Church were not sufficient to make it workable, and that additional facilities for the transfer of an incumbent from one benefice to another, and specially generous retirement terms, had been introduced in place of it.

He was more in accord with his brother Bishops in his views on the question of Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister. On August 20, 1907, he opposed the Second Reading of the measure legalising such marriages in the House of Lords. He scouted the plea that this was a working man's question. So far as it was difficult for a working man to get his sister-in-law to live with him and bring up his children, it was because of housing conditions which ought on all grounds to be altered. But when the measure was passed he accepted it, and at his Diocesan Conference in the autumn of the same year he denounced the attempt to maintain an independent law for the Church as inconsistent with " the position and history of our Church as the Established Church of the Realm. . . . Under our constitution the Canons are binding upon us so long as they do not conflict with any law of the Realm and no longer." He added a grave warning of the effects which were in his judgment bound to follow from an attempt to make the Canons of the Church paramount over the Law of the Realm.

II. IMPERIAL

The chief question of Imperial politics with which Percival actively concerned himself was the Boer War and its consequences. He regarded the policy on the British

side which led up to the war as mistaken and unjustifiable. In that sense he was a "pro-Boer." But he neither expected nor desired that the Boers should be victorious. His desire was that they should quickly give way and save a great expenditure in lives and in money. His son, Arthur, was with the Army, and to him the Bishop wrote throughout the period with unfailing regularity :

LAMBETH PALACE, S.E.,
Jan. 19, 1900.

Just now the interest at home has shifted to the Tugela, and people are very anxious for some good news. The daily telegrams of the last three months have made people almost hysterically nervous and gloomy. It surprises me to see people here in London so wanting in nerve.

Jan. 26, 1900.

The Bishop of Liverpool retires next month, so that I expect to take my seat in the House of Lords in March or April. This won't greatly affect the British Empire or your father either, but you may like to know about it.

London, and indeed the country also, have been nervously anxious this week, but were relieved, I am glad to say, yesterday by the news that Spion Kop was taken by Warren. I must confess that I dislike this hysterical nervousness of the British public. It looks too much as if we were losing grit. Over every little victory we shout—see what heroes we are, especially if we happen to be Life-guardsmen or Highlanders in kilts ; and at every check we are all in a tremor as if the Boers were going to eat us up. That is your jingo Briton at home. In camp, thank God, you are of different stuff.

Feb. 1, 1900.

We got our first bit of real pleasure out of this war when we read Lord Methuen's despatch in *The Times* last Saturday, with its commendation of you for what you did at the Modder River.¹ I am truly glad and thankful that you got your chance of winning some distinction and made such good use of it. It has made me feel some years younger.

People here have been very gloomy at home again this week, and it is indeed sad that so many brave lives should have been sacrificed on Spion Kop ; but the tide must turn soon, and we

¹ Arthur Percival was awarded the D.S.O. for his services in the battle.

are looking for Lord Roberts to develop some new plan of campaign. Parliament has just opened, and there will now be no end of talk. The Government don't show much spirit or high-mindedness ; but the thing is practically out of their hands now, and the Generals, backed by the whole nation, must carry the business through.

March 16, 1900.

Assuming that you are in Colville's Division, we have been thinking of you as in Bloemfontein the last day or two ; and it is rather odd to think of the occupation of a " capital city " very little bigger than the town of Ludlow. The inhabitants of the City of Hereford, as a rule, don't realise this or they would feel very proud of themselves. I am hoping that your next letter to arrive may tell us what your movements were to be when the start was made from the Modder. The bombarding of Cronje must have been an awful sort of business, and I am afraid there will be more horrors before the war is over.

Personally I wish very earnestly that the Government would pluck up spirit to make up their minds and say publicly what their terms of settlement are to be. My belief is that, if they would do this, and say they must be accepted in Pretoria, it would help matters to a successful issue. If they hold them back it is feared that the Boers will turn desperate and fight to the bitter end ; and history shows that a war in which men are fighting desperately and hopelessly for independence becomes fearfully savage. However, we can only sit helpless and hope for a speedy end to the fighting.

March 23, 1900.

It looks as if this war is going to saddle the country with a very big army. We are rejoicing tremendously over the wave of colonial loyalty, which is expected to do such great things for the Empire. My own private hope is that the colonies may be willing to bear their due share of the expenses of Empire ; but will they ? At present we English taxpayers seem to be paying every colonial trooper about three times the rate of pay received by one of your men, an arrangement which may do for the moment, but won't wear well.

May 12, 1900.

I took my seat in the House of Lords on Thursday, and the sight would have amused you. All the boys and Bessie, and Mary and her sister were there to see ; and for the rest the house was

nearly empty. There was the Lord Chancellor sitting bewigged on the Woolsack like some wise and ancient bird ; and three Bishops in their robes come up the House and make profound bows three times ; and then they go up to the new Bishop's seat and sit down, put on their caps and get up, take them off and bow three times more. I take the oath of allegiance to the Queen, sign the Roll of Peers, and it is all over.

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You seem to be all on the move again, and people are beginning to talk about a Boer collapse. I only hope they may be true prophets ; but many people at home don't seem to understand that they are a fighting race like ourselves.

• *June 8, 1900.*

One of the questions exercising people's minds is when the Government will dissolve Parliament, so as to secure their majority for another six years. They will no doubt do it before the khaki fever subsides and the reaction sets in.

AIX-LES-BAINS,
Sept. 27, 1900.

Here I am, writing on my birthday—sixty-six to-day—and doing my best to get myself boiled young again.

In England we are in the midst of an election, and I am glad to be able to read all about it at a distance. . . . I suppose the Government will come in again with a big majority in spite of the mess they have made of so many things ; and I am sorry to think of the further mischief that Chamberlain may do in another five years if they are in.

October 26, 1900.

Why our statesmen were such fools as not to offer publicly some reasonable terms instead of their stupid talk about unconditional surrender, when they occupied Bloemfontein and Pretoria, I cannot understand. Anyhow the conviction is spreading that it is going to be a very long and very dismal business, and I shall be very thankful if this conviction is soon proved to be a mistaken one.

December 14, 1900.

Our newspapers, and even official telegrams, keep talking about "raiders" and "guerilla fighting," but it seems to me that the Boer generals have a regular concerted plan, and it looks as if they may give you a great deal of trouble yet ; while this Govern-

ment of ours doesn't seem to formulate any clear and definite terms with a view to peace. The burning of farms and destruction of crops, and sending away of women and children into camps, are causing a good many searchings of heart at home. Many people don't believe in the method, and many think it barbarous, and all wonder what is to happen at the end of it ; but it's no use speculating ; and I keep hoping that they may give in soon.

February 1, 1901.

The Queen's death and all the changes involved have occupied people's thoughts this week. I wish the new King would signalise the beginning of his reign by a public offer of some terms to the Boers ; but I fear conciliatory statesmanship is out of fashion at present. It is rumoured that the Government will have to ask for an additional £70,000,000 for this year.

April 19, 1901.

Last night Sir Michael Hicks-Beach produced his Budget—a very gloomy document : deficit about £53,000,000. He puts 2d. more on Income Tax, a tax on sugar, and a duty on exported coal, thus adding about £11,000,000 to taxation, and he also asks for power to borrow £60,000,000.

Whatever else this war may be it is at any rate a costly one ; and this Government will go down to posterity as having wasted more good English money than any Government of our time. There has also come a gloomy despatch from Milner, or rather it came two months ago but the Government kept it back for some reason. So the dreary business goes on, and the financial burden is likely to hamper the progress of the country for the next thirty years.

Percival was called a pro-Boer, and, as has been said, in the sense in which the term was used (so far as it was justifiably used) this was true ; that is to say, he distrusted the policy that had led to the war and believed that all claims could have been peaceably adjusted. He did not desire a Boer victory, but he was in opposition to the national policy which, in his judgment, was responsible for the war. Consequently he was for a time a markedly unpopular figure. When peace was at length declared there was " mafficking " in Hereford as elsewhere. Some rowdies suggested the breaking of all pro-Boers' windows, and a large amount of glass was smashed. Then some one suggested an attack on

the Palace ; the proposal was eagerly taken up ; but the Bishop's coachman heard what was proposed and brought news in good time. The outer gates were closed and barred, and nothing more than a noisy hammering on stout wood could be achieved. The Bishop had already gone to bed, and only heard next morning of the attentions which some of his fellow-citizens had wished to pay him. But he was outspoken on this as on all subjects. It must have given him peculiar pleasure when, rather slyly, he selected as a topic for an address to the students of University College, Aberystwyth, on November 1, 1900, the value and the achievements of small nationalities. It was not a frequent topic for eloquence in England while the British Empire was engaged in war against the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. But it could hardly be resented in Wales !

When peace was declared the Government had to face a very difficult situation. South Africa was largely impoverished ; the only way to restore prosperity was to develop industry ; but there was a shortage of labour. The Kaffirs had made large sums of money during the war and were in no mood to work until that money was used up. After much deliberation it was determined to introduce Chinese coolies into South Africa under a system of indentured labour. To avoid further complicating the race problem of South Africa the Chinese were to be strictly confined to " compounds," and after a period they were to be repatriated. This raised many questions of fundamental principle. The Chinese were not to bring women with them, and there were grounds for anticipating moral evils of a serious kind. The whole system made the prosperity of South Africa depend on labour which was excluded from any participation in that prosperity. So far it was a revival of slavery, for it based civilisation on the labour of men to whom citizenship was denied. A vast controversy arose. Most people omitted to discuss whether the scheme was good or bad, and only argued about the appropriateness of using the term " slavery " as a description of it. A poster which depicted Chinese coolies in chains caused a great outcry. The fact was that the men were not " slaves " as the

word is usually understood, but neither were they free. The system had the chief political evil of "slavery," though it was without some of the ethical and economic evils of it. When Mr. Winston Churchill defended the use of the term "slavery," but admitted that it was a "terminological inexactitude," he was supposed to have given the case away; but in fact he had described the situation with terminological exactness. The whole pother about "slavery" was a side-issue. The only question worth debating was: Is the system in the whole situation right or wrong, permissible or not permissible?

On that question Percival had no doubt. He was eloquent both in speech and with the pen in denunciation of the whole policy. The reports gave a gloomy picture of the moral condition of the compounds to which the Chinese were confined, and he laid great stress on this. But his main concern was for the political morality of this method of supplying labour. So, for instance, he declared in the House of Lords on March 21, 1904:

If you put it into plain English, I venture to think that this Ordinance means something like this—that we say to the Chinese, "We will not have you in the Transvaal as men, but we will import you as animated implements, and, by and by, when we have done with you, we will export you again, dead or alive." And judging from what we have heard of the statistics, before the three years are over, a great many of the men who go to some of those mines will have to be exported in their coffins. I say that when you strip the Ordinance of all its outer declarations and take away the veil over it, it is nothing less than an iniquitous Ordinance. The spirit of it is altogether unchristian.

Again on July 6, 1906, he supported the demand for the immediate repatriation of the Chinese—

. . . so that we may be able to say that whenever a man sets foot within the British Empire he is a free man.

The advent of the Liberals to power under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman led to a complete change of policy, the abolition of Crown Colony Government, and the estab-

lishment of the present constitution. In this epoch-making and, as history has proved, conspicuously successful policy, Percival gave the Prime Minister his constant support. He also became a trusted friend of General Botha. His influence was a real factor in promoting a settlement which at the time was variously regarded as reckless and as treasonable, but is now recognised as a crowning act of generous and far-sighted statesmanship, which by its liberality evoked a loyalty such as more cautious measures could never have called forth.

III. FOREIGN POLICY

In relation to Foreign Policy, Percival's activities were confined to the promotion of international peace and the advocacy of the cause of oppressed peoples. In the latter he was a constant champion. He sought to guide the minds of his Clifton pupils along what seemed to him the only Christian lines, and a sermon preached by him in the College Chapel on October 7, 1877, was published as a pamphlet under the title *Political Sympathies Astray*, and with the sub-title "Is Sympathy with Turkish Rule and Warfare natural to a Christian Englishman?" How persistent in later years were his activities on behalf of oppressed peoples is clear from the following facts. In 1895 and 1896 he was active and clamorous on behalf of the Armenians. His efforts in the first of these two years drew a letter from Mr. Gladstone, dated Hawarden Castle, Chester, December 16, 1895, in which the two following sentences occur: "The case of Armenia is indeed terrible beyond words, and we are all sadly impotent. . . . Would God there were more utterances like yours from the Episcopal Bench." In 1903 he was again stirred to the soul by the outrages in Macedonia. In 1904 he was eloquent on the mal-administration of the Congo Free State. The principles on which such efforts are based are inevitably unchanging, and one specimen of his utterances on these subjects will illustrate the tone of all. The following is a letter written with reference to the Macedonian atrocities in 1903:

In compliance with many appeals and on behalf of many persons, I venture to trouble you with these few words in the hope that we may receive your influential support of what we advocate.

The published accounts of Macedonian horrors and miseries are so shocking that men are asking on every side, "How long will our Government remain silent and do nothing but look on in apparent acquiescence?" So long ago as March 13 the Foreign Secretary was questioned in the House of Lords as to the atrocities which had then been committed, and an earnest appeal was addressed to him to bring to bear all the influence of our Government to stop the continuance of such horrors; but nevertheless throughout the intervening months matters have been allowed to go steadily from bad to worse, until we have before us the accounts of the last few days, so awful that we hesitate to believe them.

On that occasion Lord Spencer said, very forcibly, "I think it right to impress upon the Government that the people of this country have a deep and strong feeling on this subject. They sympathise very deeply with the suffering populations under the rule of Turkey"; and Lord Lansdowne in his reply professed a strong and obviously sincere desire to see effective reforms carried out. "We shall closely watch," he said, "the operation of the Austro-Russian scheme of reforms. We have already given instructions that our consuls, who have throughout these events kept us fully supplied with information, are from time to time to report on the progress of these measures; and I can assure the Right Rev. Prelate that, so far as our opportunities permit, we shall spare no pains to secure the execution of these reforms. . . ." Thus he seemed to promise effective action. What has come of it? After six months of weary waiting, and in the lurid light of the horrors recently reported, it is reasonable to ask what the noble Marquis has to say as to the effective fulfilment of this pledge. The people of England have, indeed, been far too patient in this matter. The younger generation of Englishmen have not realised how great is England's responsibility in regard to it. But for the action of our own representatives Macedonia would have been free from the miseries of Turkish misrule during the last quarter of a century, and there would have been none of these indescribable agonies to-day. What a responsibility was incurred with a light heart and in a cynical temper when this province was handed back to the tender mercies of the Turk!

Do the members of our Cabinet sufficiently recognise how this humiliating memory, as it becomes fully realised, is stirring men and women throughout the land to remorse and anger, and how in

consequence they, as our representatives to-day, will never be forgiven if, after present events, they make no strong effort to secure such reparation as is still possible by insisting on autonomous government, adequately guaranteed, for this distressful people ?

If, on the other hand, they brace themselves to the task and succeed in giving effect to the national feeling, their action, even at this late hour, will be very thankfully acknowledged. They have the universal sentiment of the people at their back. Let us hope they will act so as to satisfy it, and see that never again shall such things as are now doing be done in Christian Europe. "God looked for judgment, but behold oppression ; for righteousness, but behold a cry."

Is this to be the last word ? We cannot believe it. But, if so, what a mockery it is for the Great Powers of Europe to call themselves Christian Powers ; and what a gilded hypocrisy is the coronation service of every Christian Emperor or King !

It is no exaggeration to say that the stain of an indelible personal discredit will rest upon every monarch and upon every statesman in Christian Europe who, from whatever motive, can be held to have been in any sense primarily responsible for the continuance of such atrocities as you have to report day by day.

The cause of Peace was especially near to his heart, and became an ever-increasing concern to him, and here again his persistency is notable. In 1896 he read a paper to the Church Congress at Shrewsbury on International Relations in the Light of the Gospel. In 1899 he was the preacher at the English Church at the Hague on June 11, while the Hague Conference was sitting, and delivered a sermon which was printed under the title *The Peacemakers, or the Influence of Christian Principles on International Relationships*. In 1900 we find him presiding over the Annual Meeting of the International Arbitration and Peace Association. In 1904 he travelled to America in the cause of Peace.¹ In 1905 he presided over the National Peace Congress at Bristol. In 1908 he presided at the Annual Meeting of the Christian Conference on Peace in London. Very shortly before the war he went to Berlin with many Christian ministers of all denominations with a view to fostering better international relations. Soon afterwards, at the National Peace Congress in Cardiff, was read the following message from the Bishop.

¹ See Chap. VIII.

It has a pathetic interest in the light of what was so shortly to happen.

Fresh as I am from the visit of the ministers of religion to Germany, I feel more strongly than before that the cause of peace is making real progress in spite of all signs to the contrary. It is impossible to doubt the sincerity of the welcome with which we were everywhere received or of the desire for peaceful and friendly relations with England expressed by the Kaiser and his Chancellor, by the burgomasters and councillors of every city we visited, and by private citizens in every rank of life, and we were assured that the masses of the working men are solid for peace. Here, then, we have a great and growing people, the greatest on the Continent of Europe, like ourselves industrially and commercially, and of the same stock, equally with us, desirous of unbroken peace and friendship. Surely, under such circumstances, it is not too much to ask that the Governments of the two countries should make it their supreme duty by frank and direct personal indications to establish mutual confidence and goodwill. The statesman who may succeed in doing this—and I hope it may be done—will confer an inestimable boon on all the nations of Europe.

Bishop Percival pursued his great ideals with perfect consistency. That the last years of one who laboured so long and so strenuously for peace should have been spent under the shadow of the great war was a sad destiny. But in that case he believed whole-heartedly in the justice of the cause his country had espoused, and none rejoiced more deeply than he in the victory of the allied arms over the aggression of despotic militarism.

He was no "Pacifist," though he was a lover of Peace. He believed there was a place for the use of force in Christian statesmanship. On behalf of oppressed peoples he perpetually urged the employment of force. But he would have it used, not for aggrandisement nor chiefly for self-defence, but for the protection of the oppressed. When he demanded armed intervention on behalf of Armenia or Macedonia and statesmen replied that it might cause a European conflagration, he was not impressed. His one concern was to be brave in succouring the weak; the issue he was prepared to leave in the hands of God, whose bidding he sought to obey.

CHAPTER XI

NATIONAL EDUCATION

No cause was dearer to Percival than the general development of education and the offering of educational facilities to all who were shut out from the fullest opportunities of mental growth. In his early days, the education of women was a dangerous novelty ; the education of working men had not been dreamt of. When he went to Clifton in 1862 even universal elementary education was still in the future by eight years. What now seem to be simple schemes were then audacious and revolutionary, and certainly those epithets would not be too strong for the view held by many sober citizens concerning the modest but excellent scheme described in the following words of Miss Alice Winkworth :

In February 1868, Mr. and Mrs. Percival and ten other ladies and gentlemen formed a Committee to promote the Higher Education of Women. Mrs. Percival and Miss Brice were the Secretaries, but gave up the Secretaryship in 1870 to Miss Catherine Winkworth. The responsibility and labour of finding suitable lecturers and making all business arrangements fell to the Secretary, who was greatly helped in this by Mr. Percival, and they obtained the services of most distinguished men as lecturers, such as Mr. J. A. Symonds, Professors Nichol and Grant of Glasgow, Mr. F. W. H. Myers, Rev. M. Creighton (afterwards Bishop of London), Mr. Humphry Ward, Professor Bonamy Price, Rev. J. Franck Bright, Mr. T. Case, etc.

In 1870, besides the Lectures, there were set on foot Classes on various subjects to aid women in preparing for the Higher Cambridge Examination.

These Lectures and Classes were remarkably successful both

in the numbers attending them and in the quality of the work done, and they may be said to have raised the whole intellectual tone of Clifton society. In 1876 Dr. Percival felt that the time had now come for Bristol to have a University College, where young men and women could carry on systematic study, and it was decided by the Higher Education Committee not to organise any independent classes, but to circulate the prospectus of the proposed College among their students. They also raised a Fund for Scholarships to be held by women at the College during the next two years, which were replaced by permanent scholarships raised as a memorial to Miss Winkworth on her death in 1878. Bristol was the first town in England to possess a University College open alike to men and women, and this it owes to Dr. Percival and the Committee for the Higher Education of Women. Miss Winkworth wrote, "Mr. Percival pushes us on and on with a steady pressure. Whenever I've arranged one set of classes and feel I may rest on my oars, he smiles gently and says, 'Well, now then, Miss Winkworth, don't you think we may begin so and so?'" This is somewhat descriptive of his methods with all with whom he came into contact.

In 1877 the Percivals and some of their friends felt the need of a High School for Girls in Clifton, and the idea was warmly taken up. The children of many of the best known families in Clifton were sent to it, and it was so successful that in a few years it was decided to start an offshoot in Redland, another suburb of Bristol. This soon grew into a most flourishing institution, of which Dr. Percival remained President.

That misgivings were aroused by such proposals is evident from the following letter from the poet, Mr. Sydney Dobell:

6 HARLEY PLACE,
March 19.

MY DEAR MR. PERCIVAL—The passing handshake of last week allowed no time for what I have been wishing to say ever since our ride on the Down—that any hesitation I had felt as to your project for "the Higher Education of Women" was removed by the talk we had up there. I confess that, at first sight, a clause in the programme you kindly sent me roused some anxiety in regard to your experiment; because I believe heartily in the immortality of Manhood and Womanhood, and believe therefore that the effort of all human education should be to make us more profoundly and supremely Man and Woman; but I think

that your programme, supplemented by that running—or, to speak quite exactly, that cantering—commentary of yours, represents a cause for which the most sturdy Dissident from Amazons, Blue-stockings, or however otherwise one may call *hoc genus omne* (it's a comfort to speak of them in the neuter), must go in with all his heart. My wife and Miss Jolly unite in cordial sympathy with Mrs. Percival and yourself, and pray let me say the same for yours right truly,

SYDNEY DOBELL.

As we are not residents here, and can hardly, therefore, hope to offer personal co-operation, perhaps you will allow me the pleasure of a small subscription towards the expenses of whatever *mécanique* may be necessary.

Schemes of this type, however, admirable as they were, fell far short of what Percival saw to be required. There were in those days no provincial universities, except Durham; and Durham, being residential, shared in part both the advantages and the limitations of Oxford and Cambridge. Percival, considering the needs of Bristol, conceived the idea of University Colleges.

In September 1872 he wrote a pamphlet consisting of twenty printed pages, in the form of an open letter to the Governing Bodies of the various Colleges in the University of Oxford, and with the title *The Connection of the Universities and the Great Towns*. In this he dwells upon the loss involved for a great city by their lack of any centre of higher education within itself and upon the value of the influence which such a centre could exert upon its corporate life.

The object that I have had in view in laying these remarks before you is to ask you to take into consideration the possibility of devising some remedy for this separation between the life of the provincial cities and our University culture. Any reform which might succeed in this would not only be the means of raising the general life of the commercial classes to a higher level of cultivation and taste, but would, at the same time, open a comparatively new sphere of usefulness to the Universities themselves, and give them a fresh hold upon the mind of the nation.

And the present time would seem to be peculiarly suited for the consideration of this question, as the inquiries of the com-

mission now sitting may naturally be expected to lead eventually to some new form of University work ; and, if so, it cannot be too soon to discuss the form which that work might be made to take with most advantage to the Universities and the country. I am, of course, aware that this is in no sense a new question. For many years it is known to have been a subject of consideration among the residents of both Universities, how to bring the great towns into closer connection with their work, and it will be remembered that, so long ago as the time of the Durham University Commission, the present Master of Balliol spoke on the subject in his evidence before the Commission.

He was eager for the actual influence of Oxford and Cambridge in the matter. He feared that if institutions under purely local initiative and control were established they would not have the breadth of outlook which he deemed essential :

If founded under local influences they are certain to have almost exclusive reference to the practical wants of the neighbourhood, and will consequently attract only special classes of students and produce little or no effect in the way of liberal culture. Thus they will be found to lack the one element which specially distinguishes a University, and which is above all things required in our wealthy trading communities.

On this account I feel it would be nothing short of a misfortune if the older Universities should, from any cause, miss the opportunity which seems now to be offered of establishing their influence in town life, as strongly as they have in times past established it in that of the country ; and I have long entertained the hope that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, through their Colleges, may be led to take the matter in hand by offering—under certain conditions—to plant in the chief provincial towns branches or faculties, consisting of various Professorships, which shall be looked upon as integral parts of the parent University. . . . The outlines of the proposal may be stated as follows :

1. That each of the wealthier Colleges should convert two or more of its non-resident Fellowships into Professorships, to be held in some great town such as Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, Liverpool, etc., provided that the town be willing to comply with the condition on which they are offered.

2. That the appointment of each Professor be for a term of ten or twelve years. The Professor to be eligible for re-election

at the end of the time, should it be determined to continue the Professorship.

3. That the town be required to supply suitable buildings for the work of the Professor established there, and also to provide for each Professor a fixed salary of not less than £200 a year, in addition to the sum received by him from the college, and independent of all fees derived from the students attending his classes.

4. That all fees be paid into a common fund, but that every Professor receive out of this fund a capitation grant on all students attending his lectures, in addition to the payments mentioned in the last section.

5. That the provision required from the town be guaranteed in the first instance for each single appointment, but not necessarily for a longer period ; so that, if, at the expiration of the ten or twelve years agreed upon, any town should be unable or unwilling to renew its contribution, the Professorship or batch of Professorships might be transferred elsewhere.

6. That, as a rule, Professorships should not be offered to a town singly, but in such number and variety as to afford something like an adequate university curriculum.

7. That every Professor should be required to reside, during his tenure of office, in the town to which it was attached, not less than six months every year, and to give during that time such lectures and other instruction as might be set forth in the terms of his appointment.

8. That in the event of a superannuation fund or system of retiring pensions being established for the benefit of those engaged as residents in the work of the universities, these local Professors should also be included in its provisions.

9. That all students possessing certificates of having attended the required course of instruction under such Professors, and able to pass the ordinary university examinations, should be entitled to a university degree.

What I desire especially to urge, as a resident in one of the great towns, is that a scheme of this nature could be brought into operation without much difficulty by means of resources which are ready to hand, and that it would be more effective in extending the influence and work of the universities than any which I have seen proposed.

The scheme was taken up in some quarters with eagerness. Its warmest supporter in Oxford was Jowett, the Master of

Balliol, who secured the support of his own College and sought for that of others. At first this was difficult :

I have not been able as yet to secure the co-operation of any other college. But I hope that New College is likely to join and I think of applying to Merton.

Progress was by no means easy. On March 15, 1874, Jowett wrote again :

The Bristol College scheme has been well received at New College, but not at Merton, and I must try and find some other college to join. Failing that we must go on alone. There is a great jealousy about taking the College Funds out of Oxford, and many persons are greatly provoked with us for offering. However, I hope that we shall proceed. I think that the University, moved by King's College, will probably grant to students at such colleges the privilege of counting two years' residence for one at Oxford. The Bristol University College should be the beginning of a movement which we must not allow to let drop.

The movement inaugurated by Percival, with the co-operation of Jowett, led to the permanent establishment of the University College at Bristol, and later on of the University.

The College was a true continuation and development of the effort for the Higher Education of Women. It was in 1876 that the preparations were far enough advanced for action, and Percival felt that the time was ripe for a University College where young men and women could carry on systematic study. The Committee concerned was not now occupied in organising independent lectures, but in circulating the prospectus of the proposed College and in founding scholarships for women. Four such scholarships were founded. Bristol thus became the first town in England to possess a University College open to men and women alike.

Balliol and New College continued their generous support for many years, until they were advised that the funds at their disposal could not legally be used for this purpose. After this "one of the Fellows of Balliol" contributed very largely for some time out of his private purse. This was

lately discovered to have been T. H. Green. He and Jowett were both members of the Council, and the two Colleges, Balliol and New College, have special representatives on the University Court to this day.

In 1876 Miss Catherine Winkworth wrote to a friend : " Dr. Percival is happy because his dear new University College is coming to life at last." Many years later a new stage had been reached. The gift of £100,000 from Mr. H. O. Wills was announced, and it was known that Bristol would have its fully chartered University at last. Percival, who more than any other one person was the founder of the University College, who had never lost his interest in it, and who was active and influential in obtaining the Charter, was present at the University Colston dinner when the gift from Mr. Wills was made known, and the way to the long-desired goal was open. The story shall be told in the words of Professor G. H. Leonard, who was present and to whom I am indebted for the greater part of this narrative :

The speeches had been a little disappointing ; they dwelt rather too much on the material side of things, and the spiritual note, as sometimes happens, was wanting. Then, almost at the close, Dr. Percival was called on and everything seemed to be put right in a moment. I remember just where he stood and how he looked, and the sound of his voice—so unlike our West of England voices. His was a very noble and beautiful figure to look upon in his old age—an old man " of a ruddy countenance," venerable, with the fine white hair which added so much to the natural dignity of his earlier days, drawing himself up to his full height and speaking to us, like a prophet, about our city, the " lantern of the West," and his dreams for it, and the sense that he had of a warfare accomplished, and a work that he left to us, who were present there that night, to carry on in the old spirit.

The removal from Clifton to Oxford increased the opportunities of working for general educational development. His startling suggestion that he should resign his post as President of Trinity to become Censor of the Non-Collegiate Students, shows how intense and how utterly disinterested was his concern for the development of the highest educa-

tional facilities for all classes of the community. He threw himself also into the cause of women's education, becoming the first President of the Council of Somerville College, and he was a prime mover in the inauguration of the Oxford University Extension Movement.

In the Somerville College Minute Book it appears that at the first recorded meeting, on February 7, 1879, it was resolved "that a Hall should be established in which no distinction will be made between students on the ground of their belonging to different religious denominations." A Provisional Committee was then elected consisting (amongst others) of the President of Trinity (Percival), Professor T. H. Green, Mr. Nettleship and Mrs. Humphry Ward. At the next meeting Professor Green was in the chair, and at the one following the Provost of Queen's (Magrath). On this occasion the question of appointing a permanent chairman was discussed, and it was resolved "that no election to the office of chairman take place without an absolute majority of persons present and voting." Later on at the same meeting Percival was elected without opposition. He therefore became the first Chairman of the Council on February 28, 1879. So he continued until the Memorandum of Association was registered in 1881; from that date onwards the title has been President, and Percival continued to be President until 1893; he remained a member of the Council till 1899. The first Principal of Somerville, Miss Shaw Lefevre, used always to speak of him as a mainstay and guiding spirit in the early and difficult days.

It was during Percival's Presidency at Trinity that the Oxford University Extension Movement was launched, and no one was more energetic or more influential on its behalf. Sir Michael Sadler, now Vice-Chancellor of Leeds, whose appointment as first Secretary of the Extension Delegacy was secured by Percival, thus describes those early days of the movement:

As President of Trinity Dr. Percival was one of the pioneers of University Extension. Cambridge under the guidance of James Stuart had led the way. Oxford, Cambridge and London together, with Mr. Goschen as President of the Society, had

organised University Extension classes in the metropolitan area. And Oxford on its own account had made a beginning, with Mr. Arthur Acland as the first Secretary of its scheme. But in its earlier stages the Oxford movement flagged and for a time was suspended. Dr. Percival's efforts revived it in 1885. With the support of the Master of Balliol (Dr. Jowett), the Provost of Queen's (Dr. Magrath) and the Master of University (Dr. Franck Bright), he persuaded the Delegates of Local Examinations to resuscitate their committee for local lectures. A secretary was appointed to relieve Mr. Lockhart from this branch of the Delegacy's work. The Rev. W. Hudson Shaw, Mr. (now Sir) H. J. Mackinder, Mr. J. A. R. Marriott, Mr. E. L. S. Horsburgh, Mr. D. S. M'Coll and Professor Oliver Elton were among the first of the lecturers who quickly won public support for the Oxford scheme.

A few years later, after he had left Oxford for Rugby, Dr. Percival gave decisive encouragement to a further development of University Extension. At a meeting in the Headmaster's drawing-room in the School House at Rugby, Dr. Paton of Nottingham reported his impressions of Chatauqua. Mr. Charles Rowley of Manchester urged that something of the same kind should be attempted in England, and that Oxford and Cambridge would be the best places at which to hold such a gathering. Dr. Percival warmly approved the idea, which a young Oxford graduate who was present brought before the Delegacy at Oxford with the result that the Summer Meeting of University Extension and other students was established.

Through his knowledge of the needs of Bristol, Dr. Percival was from the first a strong supporter of the establishment of University Colleges in the great cities. He wrote a pamphlet in advocacy of this development of higher education. He held that the older Universities should do all in their power to extend facilities for attendance at University classes both in small towns and in the great centres of population. England needed more Universities and more adult education under University influence. By their active participation in the movement, the ancient Universities might confer upon it prestige. They could supply to it young men of enthusiasm and energy. They could win for it the sympathy of many of the Oxford and Cambridge graduates living in the districts which were lacking in educational opportunities. And by the organisation of systematic courses of lectures and classes, as well as by the stimulus of shorter courses and of Summer Meetings, these older Universities could make a timely contribution to the higher education of women, to the training of the more thoughtful of the industrial classes, and to the

foundation of new University Colleges, some of which (as had already been the case in Manchester, Liverpool and Leeds) would in due time develop into independent Universities.

He had faith in adult education and a deep sense of its need. He saw that the ancient Universities had a great opportunity of leadership. He was free from timidity and from conventional ideas of academic tradition. He was both a prophet and a business man. At the critical moment his influence prevailed. What Archbishop Temple and Sir Thomas Dyke Acland had done for the University Local Examinations, which were the beginnings of University Extension, Percival with the help of Jowett, Magrath, Franck Bright, Arthur Acland and others did for the revival of the Oxford movement for the extension of University teaching. And, stage by stage, the significance of the new development has been more fully disclosed.

Percival's continuous concern for educational development led him to take a deep interest in the National Home Reading Union from the time of its inauguration. In September 1892 he went over from Rugby to Sheffield to speak at a meeting in Firth College in support of the Union, then in its infancy. When it is recalled how jealous he was of his time at Rugby and how few causes were allowed to draw him away, this must be taken as evidence of genuine zeal. Dr. Alex. Hill, then Master of Downing College, Cambridge, and now Secretary of the Universities Bureau of the British Empire, himself one of the pioneers of the Union, writes as follows :

In common with Dr. J. B. Paton of Nottingham and many another enthusiast for popular education, Dr. Percival was inspired by articles contributed to the *Fortnightly Review* and the *Nineteenth Century* by Bishop Vincent and Sir Joshua Fitch respectively with a determination to secure the establishment in England of an imitation, with appropriate adaptations, of the Chatauqua Reading Circles of America. At a preliminary meeting held at Lord Aberdeen's house in London in April 1889, Dr. Percival was elected Chairman of Council of the projected National Home Reading Union, an office which he held until his death. At the end of the first year of the Union's existence a Summer Assembly was held at Blackpool at which he preached the Union Sermon. No doubt he concurred in the selection of Blackpool as the summer resort of Home Readers, to which it

was hoped that they would come in their thousands, as their American cousins flock to the shores of the beautiful Chataqua lake ; but it may be remarked, parenthetically, that it was an infelicitous choice. An extraordinarily brilliant staff of lecturers and a crowd of sympathisers with the propaganda of the Union assembled in the Lancashire seaside town ; the mill-hands and miners whom it was hoped to attract were conspicuously absent. When, after giving Blackpool a trial for two more summers, the Assemblies were shifted from place to place of great historic interest or natural beauty they answered fully to the expectations of their organisers.

As Chairman of the Council, which met but once a year, Dr. Percival took no active part in the management of the Union ; but sympathising as he did very deeply with its aims, he responded gladly to demands for his presence on special occasions, and was ever ready with his counsel. Thus we find him preaching at Leamington at the Summer Assembly in 1895 a very notable sermon on the Union, of which unfortunately no record was made at the time ; receiving the President of the Union, H.R.H. Princess Louise, at the Imperial Institute in 1891, when the Archbishop of Canterbury and, owing to the Lambeth Conference, a galaxy of bishops were also present ; presiding at public meetings in the Salter's Hall in 1908, at Birmingham in 1910, and in the Caxton Hall, Westminster, in 1911. When the Summer Assembly was held at Ross in 1913 the Bishop and Mrs. Percival received the members at the Palace and gave them most generous entertainment. His services were justly summarised at the time of his death by the Rev. J. E. Flower, who, like him, had been an active worker for the Union from its inception : " The members of the Union of all classes, and in all lands, have reason to be grateful for the influence of this man of simplicity and saintliness, of wisdom and of tact, of courage and of strength. He has left upon the Union the stamp of a gracious personality."

Alongside of the more general schemes promoted by University Extension and the Home Reading Union, Percival concerned himself also with the details of general educational policy, with which his experience had made him familiar. In October 1893, he worked out in a pamphlet the place of the First Grade School, Classical or Modern, in a complete system of Secondary Education. In 1895 he gave evidence before the Royal Commission on Secondary Education, full of detailed suggestion most minutely elaborated. It is

interesting to notice his demand for a reform of Matriculation requirements at Oxford and Cambridge such as to give those Universities "their proper influence in a reformed system of Secondary Education." For this purpose he urged that Responsions at Oxford and the Previous Examination at Cambridge should consist of the following subjects :

1. Any three of the following languages (Latin, Greek, French, German).

2. Elementary Mathematics.

3. Elementary Natural Science. (Subjects to be selected from a schedule to be drawn up.)

4. English.

"It might be laid down," he added, "that every candidate must pass in at least two of these four groups before commencing residence, and the remainder before offering himself for any other university examination."

It is to be observed that this proposal involves the abolition of "compulsory Greek" and anticipates in a remarkable way the scheme drawn up in comparatively recent years for the First School Examination by means of which, if a sufficiently high standard is attained, it is now possible to obtain exemption from Responsions at Oxford, the Previous Examination at Cambridge, and the Matriculation Examination at other universities. In educational matters Percival combined in a remarkable degree the wide vision which can frame a general policy of really comprehensive scope, and the mastery of detail which makes possible the formulation of practical steps to be taken immediately ; this combination is particularly noticeable in the many addresses which he delivered to the Educational Section of the British Association in the early years of that Section's existence.

The zeal for women's education which he had shown as Headmaster of Clifton and as President of Trinity never died down. But in this, as in other connections, his proposals did not always please his friends. On May 21, 1897, the proposal to grant degrees to women was defeated at Cam-

bridge by 1713 votes against 622. Oxford had defeated a similar proposal the previous year. Percival at once came forward with an alternative proposal. The general idea of a University for Women had already been advocated by Bishop Westcott. Percival was ready with a fully developed scheme. A letter embodying it, dated May 22, the day after the Cambridge vote, was published in *The Times* on May 26 :

A QUEEN VICTORIA UNIVERSITY FOR WOMEN

SIR—Now that the women's war is ended for the moment and peace reigns once more in the University of Cambridge, I hope it may not be inopportune to make a practical suggestion on the subject of a new University for Women. Encouraged in this hope by your leading article this morning (May 22), I desire to ask of those interested, as indeed we all are, in women's education, and more particularly of the authorities of the Royal Holloway College, favourable consideration of a proposal which I ventured to make some years ago, when it was felt to be premature.

Stated briefly, my proposal is that amongst the various movements of this *annus mirabilis* one should be the establishment of a Queen Victoria University for Women, of which the Royal Holloway College might be the first constituent college.

No apology is needed for the proposed addition of one more to the many forms of memorial already before the public, because it will be generally felt that nothing less than a rich variety of memorials will suitably represent to future generations the many-sided and marvellous expansion of England under the rule of Queen Victoria. Indeed, the only reasonable limit to such variety is that every monument should be of an enduring character—*aere perennius*—and either beneficent or beautiful, and should express the spontaneous loyalty and affection of those who establish it. So considered, a women's university has a strong claim upon our support, as among all the various improvements in English life which give lustre to the Queen's reign, few, if any, are more deserving of special record than the progress of women's education, and it would accordingly be very appropriate if the movement could be crowned on this unique occasion by such a memorial, connecting this growth with the Queen's name for all time to come.

It may possibly be alleged that the facilities now offered to women at our ancient universities are superior to anything that could be provided in a new institution of a separate kind, and

that larger facilities will be given by and by, yesterday's vote notwithstanding. There are, however, various weighty considerations on the other side of this question, as has been widely felt during the recent controversies on the subject at Oxford and Cambridge. For my own part I see nothing but good in the opening of the doors of our universities to women students, and, as having taken some share during the last thirty years in helping forward the higher education of women both in the provinces and in Oxford, I trust I shall not be suspected of any desire to check the progress of the movement, or to depreciate the value of the work which the universities have done and are doing in this good cause. All who are familiar with university life and have carefully observed this movement will acknowledge that two things have been made abundantly clear. On the one hand every anticipation of good results from the facilities extended to women has been more than fulfilled, while on the other hand every prognostication of evil has been falsified.

And yet it may reasonably be doubted whether this mixed education under a traditional system formed and intended exclusively for men should be the sole kind of university education accessible to women, and there is much force in the argument that for true progress in this, as in other matters, we need liberty with variety of choice. The provision for women's education is not unnaturally felt to be one-sided and incomplete, until the growing liberty to make such limited use of the men's universities as may be accorded to them is accompanied or supplemented by the establishment of a separate university, in which the higher education of women may develop freely along its own lines, a university so constituted as to be the intellectual home or headquarters of the most cultivated and distinguished women of their time. If such a university were in existence, there can be little doubt that many parents would prefer it for their daughters, as feeling that it would train and enrich their life under the most satisfactory conditions, and as recognising that it would be of very great value to them, if they could thus be brought into some direct personal contact with those women who had become specially distinguished or influential in one or another field of life or literature.

But, it may be asked, even assuming that the establishment of such a university is in the abstract desirable, and that many parents would welcome it, so as to get rid of the present compulsory uniformity involved in a system of mixed education on lines laid down exclusively for men, what hope is there that any such institution could be established with any prospect of success? And it is my reply to this question which I desire to

commend to public notice, and for which I ask your consideration and support.

Assuming it to be possible to establish such a university for women, I submit that nothing could be more appropriate than to associate its foundation with the name and memory of Queen Victoria ; and I trust it might be to the Queen herself not the least acceptable of the memorials through which her people are now expressing their gratitude for the extension of her reign and their affection for her as one of the most beneficent and sympathetic sovereigns that have ever ruled in any country. And if my proposal should commend itself to the authorities of Holloway College and to a few other friends of women's education it would be an easy matter to carry it into effect. Taking the Royal Holloway College as the point of departure I would apply for a Royal Charter establishing the Queen Victoria University for Women, with Holloway College as the first constituent college of the University. New colleges might and would be founded later within the precincts of the University, as occasion might arise, and founders and benefactors might come forward, so that the University would grow just as Oxford and Cambridge have grown.

The one indispensable condition to be secured at the outset is that it shall not be a paper university, but a localised and living institution, the intellectual home and headquarters of at least a prominent group of the best and most cultivated and most influential women of their generation. This would be secured, if it were enacted through the charter of the University that the senators or governing council shall consist partly of, let us say, twelve women highly distinguished in literature, art, science, or some form of public service ; that they shall in all cases be selected by the sovereign from among the most distinguished women of the Empire, and be designated by some such title as " Students of the Queen Victoria University for Women," or " Queen Victoria Students," thus constituting what might be described as a women's order *pour le mérite*. Such an order would be much coveted, and would form a highly appropriate recognition of the most distinguished women of each generation, and, what is of special importance for the life of the university, would give to it the highest intellectual distinction from the very beginning, enriching it with just the kind of associations which would make it a true University, an inspiring home of higher life and culture to successive generations of English women. To make such an order effective for its educational purpose, it would be necessary to provide for a certain amount of residence on the part of the distinguished women selected for membership, and

for this end a moderate endowment would be requisite, each Queen Victoria studentship being endowed just as fellowships of colleges are endowed at Oxford or Cambridge, the income to be paid only on condition of a certain *minimum* amount of residence being kept during the year and in term time, so that the young students may be brought within the range of these distinguished women's personal influence. This *minimum* period of annual residence might be fixed at two or three months, and the amount of stipend might be regulated by statute as endowments for the purpose flowed in.

I have ventured to suggest Holloway College as the first constituent college of such a university, because its position is quite ideal for such a purpose, and the establishment of the university on this spot would be an easy matter, if favoured by the authorities of Holloway, as the College possesses beautiful buildings suitable for all the immediate needs of such an institution. And that the scheme is worthy of the acceptance of the governing body of Holloway may be seen from the following considerations. The things which would be required of the College would involve comparatively little sacrifice and might be thus enumerated :

1. Some small amount of space for a university office.
2. The occasional use of the noble public rooms of the College for public university functions.
3. The offer of rooms in the College free of charge to those Queen Victoria students who might from time to time be in residence.

Until funds were provided for the building of such rooms this might throw upon the College the burden of offering half a dozen sets of rooms for this purpose. On the other hand, the advantages which would accrue to the College would be tenfold. Under present conditions the College can never rise above the position of a provincial college or school, beautiful in its buildings and surroundings, and in certain respects highly favoured, but lacking the associations and the dignity of university life and position ; whereas the proposed change would raise it to a new level. Its teachers would acquire a new dignity, and its young students would breathe a larger and more stimulative atmosphere, as it would at once become a centre of national interest and culture. Should it be thought that I owe some apology to the authorities of Holloway for thus venturing to make proposals which would affect the position and fortunes of their College, I must plead my conviction that, if the possibilities I have indicated can be realised—and with their good-will it should not be difficult to realise them—the result would be to add greatly to the dignity and the

prosperity of Holloway College, while introducing a new and valuable element into our system of women's education, and giving to women of distinction an honourable recognition which is no more than their due, and would be much appreciated, and could not be given at a time more appropriate than this year of the Queen's reign.—Your obedient servant,

J. HEREFORD.

May 22.

The comments which were received in answer to this letter varied in complexion, but expressed opposition almost exactly in proportion to the writer's intimacy with the subject. Professor Pelham wrote at once :

20 BRADMORE ROAD, OXFORD,
May 27.

MY DEAR BISHOP—Your letter in *The Times* of Tuesday on the Women's question has caused myself and others some perplexity.

Granting that for the present the admission of women to degrees at Oxford and Cambridge is impracticable, and granting also that the ultimate solution of the difficulty may be found in a Women's University, I cannot believe that such a proposal as yours can do anything but harm.

The foundation in a hurry of a bran-new university would naturally provoke hostility from the existing colleges and halls. These may fairly claim to be consulted before being wiped out of existence or merged in a new corporation. Whatever is to be done in the direction of a Women's University, must be done by building on what exists, not by destroying or ignoring it.

Are Newnham and Somerville to migrate to Holloway, or are we to be subordinate Colleges in a university of the London type ? The first alternative can hardly be seriously suggested. The second is open to all the objections which lie against non-teaching universities.

The whole question requires long and patient consideration and can only be prejudiced by hasty action.

Forgive my plain writing.—Yours very truly,

HENRY F. PELHAM.

The whole matter was effectively summed up by the Principal of Somerville :

SOMERVILLE COLLEGE, OXFORD,
May 28, 1897.

MY DEAR BISHOP—I am very sorry that you cannot come to us on the 19th, as I should have greatly valued the opportunity for a little talk, however brief. May I venture to say that I hope, if an able and willing millionaire should come forward in response to your letter to *The Times*, that you will beg him to consult women concerned in education before taking hasty action.

You and others of our kindest friends are blinded, I fear, by your kindness, and believe that women have already achieved what we are aiming at. Your scheme is a beautiful one for the future, but we are not ready for it yet and I do not think we shall be for the next fifty years.

As you know—no one better—the university education of women has only existed at all for twenty-five years, and the beginnings were so small that it is only within the last twelve or fifteen years that the effect has been appreciable, and even yet, as was strongly asserted by our enemies in the recent controversy, women do not carry on their studies after leaving the university or distinguish themselves in research or other original work. The reason is obvious to those who are engaged in the work—nineteenths of the women who distinguish themselves at college must at once proceed to earn their daily bread, and that usually under exhausting conditions which entirely preclude them from carrying on their own studies. We have not yet the material for a Women's Teaching University of the high standard at which we should like to aim. Money is indeed wanted for women's education, but it is for fellowships to enable them to continue their studies—or some other form of endowment of research—better buildings, better libraries and so forth.

The number of women really fitted to take up the highest studies will never, I think, be very large—but of these a large proportion thirst to go on with their work, but are unable to do so for want of means.

The experiment of women's universities has been freely tried in America, and with what result? Americans will not say this publicly, but privately they admit that the standard in these exclusively women's universities is always tending to drop, because they are in the same position as ourselves and have not a sufficient body of women educated up to the standard of the men teachers in a university of the highest class. . . .

In the exclusively women's universities, there is no outside standard to be aimed at. Every drop, in what is required of

the pupils, reflects and perpetuates itself in time among the Staff.

I should very much dread, at present, the founding of a University for Women only, though fifty or a hundred years hence we may be ready for it, if your millionaire will help us with endowment now. We can work on without the degree, which was largely asked for as a help to bread winning, if we can only get endowment for continuance of study.—Believe me, Yours very truly,

AGNES C. MAITLAND.

It was clear that the suggestion was premature. But it may yet appear that in this as in so many matters Percival was urging what another generation would see to be advisable or even necessary. It is at least doubtful how far the best interests of boys and girls at school are secured by sending both through the same curriculum; and if they are not, it is plainly evil that either should be sacrificed to the other. It may quite possibly seem best to those who are guiding educational progress that different courses should be followed by boys and by girls, and that certificates or degrees should be awarded on different conditions. If, when the education of girls and women is sufficiently established for such a course to be adopted without loss, different conditions are in fact laid down, it is almost certain that separate universities for women will be formed, even if they are in the same cities as the men's universities and largely share in their teaching power; there would at least be separate discipline and separate Boards of Faculty—and that is tantamount to a separate university. Percival's proposal was premature, and its form was unacceptable. Its principle may yet prove to be sound and even necessary.

The story of Percival's work for the general development of education shows how inevitable it was that he should be asked to preside at that great Conference of Trade Unionists and Educationalists which met at Oxford on August 22, 1903, towards the end of the Extension Summer Meeting. That Conference voted into existence the "Association to Promote the Higher Education of Working Men," soon to be known as the Workers' Educational Association. Percival cordially welcomed the formation of the Association as a further step

towards the goal that he had before him in all his efforts on behalf of university extension twenty years before.

A similar Conference was held in August 1905, under the chairmanship of Dr. Strong, then Dean of Christ Church. The Bishop was again present, and proposed the following resolution :

That this Conference, representative of co-operative societies, trade unions and educational organisations, having regard to the educational wastage consequent upon young people of both sexes either neglecting or being prevented by conditions of employment from utilising the facilities afforded by education authorities for instruction in the evening, urges the Board of Education to ascertain from the local education authorities how far and under what conditions employers and employed, in their respective areas, would welcome legislation having for its ultimate object compulsory attendance at evening schools.

Mr. Albert Mansbridge, the founder and for many years the General Secretary of the Workers' Educational Association, writes as follows about the Bishop's help in the early stages :

It will be impossible for any one who was present to forget the kindly influence which in itself seemed a combination of labour and scholarship, exercised by Dr. Percival over the epoch-making Conference which confirmed the formation of the W.E.A., or The Association to Promote the Higher Education of Working Men, as it was then called. The gathering was unique, because it was the first time that representatives of Co-operative Societies, Trades Unions and Universities had met together, and it is certain that there was no other person so qualified as Dr. Percival to understand their various points of view, and to weld them into a common whole, as he did.

It was not possible for him to undertake active work in the Association, but he was ever ready to counsel and to assist. It was a great joy to him to attend meetings. In reality Dr. Percival was the first President, for no one was appointed to that office until 1908.

Members of the Association were always glad to meet Dr. Percival, and never more than on those happy occasions when he came to Oxford for the purposes of the Summer Meeting. The sermon he preached on one occasion did much to clear away

suspensions which were lingering in the minds of some concerning the real intentions and purposes of Universities.

The movement of the W.E.A. thus owes to Dr. Percival more than can easily be expressed. In my office as General Secretary, I was not only guided and counselled by him, but inspired ; and through him also our work was commended to the world at large.

On July 24, 1907, the Bishop of Birmingham (Dr. Gore) moved in the House of Lords for the appointment of a Royal Commission on the two ancient Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Percival, who warmly supported him, said, after reference to Bishop Gore's introductory speech :

I speak as a somewhat older man. I entered the University of Oxford in 1854, when the great Commission had just concluded its labours, and I was the first Fellow elected in my College under the new statutes. I have felt all through my life that I could never be sufficiently grateful to the men who, in Parliament and in the University itself, conferred on the University and the nation the inestimable fruits of the work done by that Commission, such men as Lord John Russell and Mr. Gladstone, Dr. Tait and Dr. Jeune, Jowett, Mark Pattison, and in particular, Arthur Stanley and Goldwin Smith. As Mr. Mark Pattison well said, the progress and good influence of Oxford were greater during the succeeding twenty years than they had been during the previous 200 years, and I do not think that any one who has made a study of Oxford life would for a moment doubt the truth of that statement.

And now to-day, through the Bishop of Birmingham, we ask His Majesty's Government to consider whether the time has not come for a new Commission in view of the vast changes that have come about in almost every department of English life during the last half century. That period, in Oxford as well as in Cambridge, has been one of very active internal reform and marvellous progress, so that the Oxford of to-day is an entirely different place from the Oxford of sixty years ago. I hope that all who take note of our appeal on this occasion will remember that fact, and will by no means underrate the amount of internal reform which has taken place. It would be quite impossible for any foreign visitor to pass the sort of verdict on the University of Oxford which was passed by a distinguished German visitor sixty years since, who said :

“Oxford cannot be considered a place of research. We

cannot look upon it as a home of scientific education. It is not even distinguished as a home of liberal education, but it has one remarkable and unique distinction—it is a training place for gentlemen—” and he added, with a touch of malice it may be, “especially for Tory gentlemen.” Whatever may have been the case with Oxford then, that is not a verdict which could be passed to-day. We who are approaching His Majesty’s Government in the hope of a Commission being issued by and by—not immediately—must be understood to come with a full consciousness of the vast amount of good progressive work which has been done.

But while many reforms have been brought about, yet we feel, as the Bishop of Birmingham has put it, that there are a great many important particulars in which it is not possible for a university to reform itself. Reform from within any institution is very difficult if not impossible, and it is almost always inadequate. With regard to Oxford there are a large number of most far-reaching and important changes which can only be made through legislative action from outside. I will indicate two or three of them by way of selection. There is, first of all, the entrance examination, which really determines a great part of the Secondary Education of the country. The entrance examination at Oxford simply consists of a rather miserable modicum of arithmetic with a little Euclid or algebra, of a book or two of some classic, the elements of Latin and Greek accidence, and the never-to-be-forgotten attempts at Latin Prose. That examination is a survival from early or mediæval times which no one would think of establishing now; and yet, the university finds it very difficult, in its relation to the colleges, to alter it. One of the fundamental reforms we might expect from a Royal Commission would be that new subjects of study would be recognised, and Greek would disappear as a compulsory subject. Then, I think the pass examination a bad system, because the student works to attain only a minimum standard of knowledge, and it would be more beneficial if in every university examination students had the opportunity of winning some mark of distinction. To my mind, the passman ought to have no existence in the university. He should be transformed by this offer of distinction.

As to endowments, I wish to associate myself with every word that the Bishop of Birmingham said as to the waste of endowments on scholarships at present. Many of those scholarships go, not to the most deserving, not to those who, if they had the opportunity, would do the greatest service to the nation, but to those who, from the circumstances of their homes, have

been provided with the most expensive education, who have been, so to speak, over-trained during the early years in most expensive establishments, and in many cases these men could have gone to the university without the aid of scholarships, which were in most cases intended only for poor and deserving men.

One of the greatest mistakes made by the Commission of 1852 was the throwing open to the unrestricted competition of all the counties of England of endowments and scholarships intended as a stimulus to learning in certain districts. This took away from many able boys the opportunity of obtaining the kind of education which might have made them very valuable servants of the State. Then further a Commission would deal with the whole question of higher education of women, and also, of course, with the powers of Convocation and possibly the vexed question of Parliamentary representation.

Probably the most important work the Commission would have to do would be to deal with the relations to be established between the old universities and the new city universities which have sprung up, and, through them, with the new democracy. How are the ancient universities to be brought into closer touch with the leading elements in the new democracy represented in the great Labour Movement? A Commission would find some very interesting problems in this connection, and the discussion that would be raised throughout the country would be of the highest value to future education. Mr. Chamberlain has intentionally or unintentionally done very great service in effecting two great revolutions in English life. When he raised the flag of tariff reform he split his own Party, but he set the nation thinking, and started flowing a new wave of liberal progress. That was one revolution; the other was the foundation of Birmingham University. Each of them has been directly or indirectly beneficent.

By establishing the University of Birmingham as the centre and crown of the life of a great city, Mr. Chamberlain destroyed the idea of a federal university, which had prevailed in the Midlands and the North of England, and every great city became ambitious to have its own university—Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Sheffield, and Bristol. Mr. Chamberlain has done very great service to the nation by creating in English cities this new interest in higher education, and by setting flowing this interest through every grade of the community. He has affected and influenced the life of all in the new democracy—raising them with new hopes, new expectations, new ambitions. That was one of the greatest services lately done to English life.

But these new city universities are still in their infancy. We have not yet had time to know with any certainty what sort of relationship they ought to bear towards the older universities. We may have our visions, but we have not yet had sufficient experience. I have a vision of all these city universities being connected by an open high road, and of students passing from one to the other, following some famous teacher, or to study some special subjects under the most favourable circumstances, so that we may have an education such as we have never had before. But as yet they are very young, and as I hold that this relationship is by far the most important part of what would be the work of the new Commission I am not in a very great hurry to have such a Commission. I should be quite content to have it next year or the year after ; but I do hope that, for the good of the future education of England, before he leaves his office the Lord President of the Council will take care that this new Commission shall be set on foot to take in hand this most important part of the educational work of the people, for the happiness of the generations to come.

In August 1907, the year of the Conference which led to the appointment of the first Joint Committee, and so to the inauguration of the Tutorial Class Movement,¹ Percival again came to Oxford during the Summer Meeting and preached in the University Church. On this occasion a number of working men were present, attending the Summer Meeting. It was the first time that the Workers' Educational Association had brought a party to Oxford for this purpose, and in view of subsequent developments must be pronounced a truly epoch-making episode. Every university now has its Joint Committee ; several carefully organised summer schools are held each year in connection with various universities, under the auspices of the W.E.A. One of the working men who, in 1907, visited a university for the first time was Mr. Reuben George of Swindon ; he heard the Bishop preach, and his impression, written twelve years later, may fitly close this story of Percival's work for education :

¹ Cf. *The Tutorial Class Movement* by A. Mansbridge (Longmans). It was Dr. Warren, Percival's former pupil, who, as Vice-Chancellor, nominated the University Members of this first Joint Committee.

He spoke of the influence of Oxford on the life of the individual and of the nation. He told how for a short time we should live the life of the university student. He drew the picture of what Oxford stood for, its spiritual life and aspirations ; he told us of the schools of Athens, how the world was indebted to them, how the scholars visited them, and how she sent her scholars away right through the world. Then, of course, he drew a picture of Oxford, of her influence and power, and I can tell you that from that moment I felt that I stood with the great scholars, and you may think me vain or foolish to say so, but I feel I belong to that world to-day. I feel I belong to its glorious literature, history, and spiritual life ; all that Oxford has stood for. The sermon was to me a great panorama of great and good men marching along through the world, the great scholars, and preachers, and reformers. I have felt ever since then that I was in touch with the best. Of course you can quite understand I had come to Oxford and met the W.E.A. with good old Zimmern¹ as our host at New College. It was a new world to me, and the sermon filled my spiritual aspirations. One thing I noted, how very few of the university students ever reached the fullness of Oxford life, how very few took in that for which the University stood. I thought of the good old Friars, and men like Latimer and Ridley, and Cranmer ; men like Wesley, and William Morris. The sermon and the week following all stirred me, but the beautiful melody of the old Bishop's voice, that supreme dignity, that broadness and charity ! How he spoke of Newman ! And you felt that you could see Gladstone and the many other great men. For word picture I never realised anything like it. It gave me the greatest spiritual uplift of my life. To-day I remember it, to-day I am a better man for it. I am a new man, a different man. I am not a saint (you know that), but I have different ideals from that Oxford meeting, and that sermon I feel was the greatest influence at the meeting. When I came out I met a fellow-comrade from Swindon, he like myself was under the dose. He came to me and said : " Reuben, I could pray now." I said I could and we felt that we had touched the eternal, that we had felt the inspiration of the greatest. Believe me I have had many influences but nothing like that, and to-day I am in the W.E.A. Other influences have helped, but the old Bishop made me believe what I realise ever since, that the spiritual influence was the greatest of all. I shall never forget the tone and ideals of that sermon as long as I live, and if I am idealist

¹ Now Professor of International Politics at Aberystwyth.

I owe a tremendous lot to that sermon. I feel I belong to the great ; the old Bishop made me feel so.

To have done something really effective towards opening to the common people the treasure-house of beauty and wisdom is the true crown of Percival's never-ceasing efforts on behalf of national education.

CHAPTER XII

LATER YEARS IN THE DIOCESE

THE story of Percival's diocesan activities was broken off at the point where the education controversy of 1902 began. It is time to take up the thread again. For several years the education controversy raged, but the diocesan work went steadily forward.

In his third Visitation Charge, delivered in 1904, that is to say during the lull in the education controversy which followed the Act of 1902-3 and preceded the Bill of 1906, he dealt with three general topics : the place of the Church in the life of the Nation ; Relations with Nonconformists ; and the attitude to be adopted towards the critical study of the Bible. The first was the most fully developed ; the other two sections are chiefly important as indications of what was to follow in later years.

Dealing with the place of the Church in the Life of the Nation he said :

One of these subjects, which at the present time requires of us in an unusual degree both thoughtful and dispassionate consideration, I must, notwithstanding its great practical importance and the misunderstandings that prevail about it, be content to dismiss with a few words by way of reminder and suggestion. It is the share which ministers of Christ, bishops and clergy alike, are called upon to take, as a matter of duty, in the ordinary social and political affairs of their country.

Our Lord and His disciples, as you know, stood apart. They abstained from all direct criticism of social institutions, and they said no word on any matters of immediate political controversy. Even on such prevalent contemporary evils as slavery and

infanticide, or the various forms of injustice or oppression which were all around them, they are almost silent.

But, when seeking an explanation of this attitude, we have to bear in mind that they were not, as we are, free citizens of a free country.

They were living under an alien, imperial, and heathen Government, of relentless spirit and iron hand, prepared at any moment to crush or crucify ; so that as regards what we call political or public affairs, passive obedience or aloofness was their only choice.

There lies the root of the difference between them and us. When men live under a free popular government, every one is bound to consider his share of personal responsibility for every social or political evil which is allowed to continue—that is for the consequences, good or evil, that ensue from the policy and action of the Government which he helps to place in power ; and the clergyman is equally with all others responsible for a right discharge of the duties of the citizen.

But he is also a priest, and pastor, and prophet. He is thus under a lifelong obligation to devote himself assiduously and with a single aim to the moral and spiritual welfare of the people amongst whom he is called upon to live and labour, and in particular the welfare of the poor, the weak, and the suffering classes, these being his special charge. He has, therefore, to regulate all his share in public affairs, as well as the habits, practices, amusements, and pursuits of his daily life, by this paramount consideration.

He is, consequently, bound to see to it very carefully that, if he takes any part in public matters, it must be always with a view of himself applying and teaching others to apply the principles of the gospel Revelation to all social and political concerns, as well as the separate life of individuals.

. . . Each generation contributes its part to the march of social and religious progress by answering to some special call ; and the greatest of all the calls that have come to us in our day is that which bids us rouse in busy men of all professions and trades the desire to carry the personal influence of Jesus into all their practical affairs and relationships. And if we clergy are to be true to our prophetic office, we must not shrink from the duty of stirring this desire in them. It is a difficult work, because it involves the uprooting of many prejudices, and it is certain to run counter to many conventional notions and practices.

In doing it we have to preach to our neighbours with untiring reiteration the duty of applying the Christian spirit, and Christian principles, and Christian rules of conduct, to a great many things in social, industrial, commercial, and political life, which

have hitherto been hardly touched at all by the influence of the gospel.

It is, for instance, in this spirit that the clergyman is bound by his office, if he is to be faithful, to deal with all such questions such as the drink traffic, its monopoly, and the extension or restriction of it, bearing in mind the temptations, the evil influences, and the obstacles or stumbling-blocks which it has been permitted to raise in the way of a Christian life and of Christian endeavours ; or, again, that other question of the proper housing of the working classes, with all the moral and spiritual consequences which it involves to them and to their children.

Especially he has to bear in mind that in all matters of public policy, as Christ's minister he is bound to be very watchful and jealous for the welfare of the poor, the weak, and the suffering amongst us, whose interests have always been in danger of being overlooked, forgotten, or misunderstood by those powerful trade or class interests which, as a rule, exercise the preponderating influence in public affairs.

As I look back over the general policy of our Church, and what may be described as the general clerical attitude of late years, and especially since the ill-starred changes in our public life which began in 1886, I feel the exceeding gravity of these considerations.

It is because of their gravity that I would ask you to take home with you and give them careful, prolonged, thoughtful, dispassionate, prayerful consideration, with your mind removed as far as may be from all the disturbing influences of political feeling or passion or prejudice.

The gravity of the matter for us and our Church consists in this—that we seem to any discerning eye to be very near the parting of the ways, if we have not already passed it unseeing. If I am right in this estimate of the situation, the question which demands our most serious attention is whether our Church of England is to drift into being mainly the Church of the upper, the wealthier, the privileged, the Laodicean classes, the classes whose instincts and sentiments have always been anti-democratic, or whether it is to retain or to win the affection of the great mass of the people and exercise its redeeming influence over their life.

When we read our gospel with open heart and unclouded vision, is it not clear to us that the spirit of the Saviour and of His Apostles is the spirit of social democracy ?

It is indeed a matter of primary importance that every minister of our more privileged Church, set as it is amidst all the spiritual temptations, the entanglements, and dangers of privilege, should always bear this in mind.

From this it follows that, if our Church is to be the instrument for exercising the regenerating power of Christ among the labouring masses of our industrial community, it must work in this spirit of social democracy ; if it is to be in any real and living sense the Church of the people in the coming years, their informing and inspiring guide, our clergy must be so imbued with this spirit of the Saviour in the Gospel as not to lose entirely, what we have undoubtedly lost in some degree, the loyal sympathy of the working multitudes and their leaders.

Those of our clergy will do for their Church this inestimable service of securing her in the affections of the people, who exhibit among them that profound and consuming devotion to the poorer classes, to the weak, the neglected, the sinner, the sufferer, that feeling for their weakness, that sympathy for their needs, that belief in their righteous claims which burns and shines, as a light from heaven above us, on almost every page of the gospel story, making this story the Magna Charta of all true popular and democratic progress.

Such as I apprehend it, is the Christianity of Christ, and none other.

The other two general sections of this Charge deal with the attitude of the Church towards Nonconformists and with its attitude towards the Higher Criticism. The former subject is discussed by means of quotations from the Rev. Urijah R. Thomas, of Bristol, at one time Chairman of the Congregational Union of England ; from Canon Hensley Henson, now Bishop of Durham, who was Bishop Percival's successor at Hereford, and from Dr. Armitage Robinson, then Dean of Westminster. It was typical of Percival that here, as in the quotations from Lightfoot and Hort in the first Charge, he should commend his cause by expressing it in the words of men whom he expected to have with his hearers a greater authority than his own.

His advice with regard to the Higher Criticism is an exhortation to devout and patient study, and an appeal to those who are zealous for traditional orthodoxy to await the verdict of such study. So in speaking of " the distressful controversy concerning the gospel record of the Saviour's birth and infancy " :

Into this discussion itself I do not propose to enter on this

occasion. Like all the deeper questions of doctrine or historical research, it should be left as far as possible in the hands of the devout and reverent student with mind and temper adequately equipped and disciplined for so responsible a work.

It is not for every impulsive or rash hand to steady the Ark of God when it seems to tremble.

For orthodox and heretic alike the Bishop has a warning against entering with undue readiness into the discussion of great mysteries :

For my own part, I dislike and deprecate those superficial discussions of the deeper things of our faith and life which, under the influence of a cheap press, tend to become a fashionable excitement.

Such discussions, in which sometimes curiosity is more prominent than humility, taken up and bandied about by those who have no adequate equipment for them, either in knowledge or in training and mental discipline, no due sense of their personal responsibility in handling them, no due reverence, no cleansed vision, are far from being the best methods for arriving at the true apprehension of the things pertaining to our spiritual life.

This Charge caused considerable stir and was much discussed in the press. In particular the *Liverpool Daily Post* declared it to be "as salutary and sane a state paper as any prelate of the Establishment has ever put forth."

In 1905 a very bitter attack, partly based on this Charge, was delivered against the Bishop by "Father Ignatius." This gave the clergy of the diocese an opportunity of expressing their personal respect for the Bishop, which they were all the more eager to take because of their frequent opposition to him in public affairs. An address was drawn up in these terms :

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP—We, the undersigned, deeply resent the uncalled for and vulgar attack made upon you at Llanthony on Ascension Day, and desire to express to you our feelings of respectful regard and sympathy.

This was signed and forwarded to the Bishop with the following letter by the Dean :

THE DEANERY, HEREFORD,
June 9, 1905.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP—I have much pleasure in sending you a short form of address signed by the Dean, members of the Chapter, Archdeacons, and *all* the Rural Deans in your diocese, as a protest against the most scurrilous and false abuse of the so-called “Father Ignatius,” uttered by him at a large assembly of people at Llanthony on last Ascension Day. There are some who have expressed an opinion that it was scarcely worth while to notice the ravings of such a lunatic, but inasmuch as his address has been inserted in the local papers and is read by many ignorant and foolish persons throughout the diocese, many of us have thought it desirable that it should be known that your clergy, as represented especially by the Rural Deans and others, protest most strongly against such utterances being inserted in the papers, and desire to show the great regard and esteem in which you are held by them.—Believe me to be yours very faithfully,

J. W. LEIGH.

It was in the following year that Bishop Percival inaugurated the excellently conceived and widely beneficial scheme of Book Boxes. The education of the young and the mental interests of the full grown were hampered by the lack of any good libraries—indeed, very often of any libraries at all—in the villages, whether at the schools or elsewhere. In 1906 Percival devised a scheme of Circulating Book Boxes to meet this need. The scheme was described as follows by Canon Bannister in a letter to *The Times* written on September 6, 1912 :

To any school in the diocese, provided or non-provided, the Bishop is prepared to send a box of fifty books of standard literature (history, biography, science, fiction, etc.). These boxes are exchanged quarterly, a small annual subscription covering the cost of carriage and management. Last year 78 schools participated in the scheme, more than 40,000 volumes being issued to readers.

Another set of Boxes, intended for adults, circulated in the villages. The Bishop was enabled to do this by the help of his close friend, Mr. Andrew Carnegie, who supplied any deficit in the funds. He himself took great pains over the

choice of books. Some were to be books of a general religious interest, but not those written with an obvious religious "moral"; some were to be books on agriculture; some novels by the great writers were always included.

A criticism of the scheme by an Education Officer led to an interesting justification of it by Percival. An official at the Board of Education wrote to Canon Bannister on June 24, 1913:

DEAR SIR—You were kind enough to procure for me, recently, some information respecting the Hereford Scheme of Circulating Book Boxes which I found most helpful and have since endeavoured to put to a good use. A Director of Education for a County Authority before whom the scheme was placed by a Welsh Member of Parliament who thought of adopting it in his county has, however, offered the following criticism upon it. If you will not consider me unduly troublesome I should be extremely glad to have your comments (or those of the acting Secretary of the Hereford Book Scheme whose name and address I have unfortunately mislaid) upon what this Education Officer says:

The Scheme has many attractive features, and would undoubtedly be productive of much benefit. After considering the matter very carefully, however, I must admit that in my humble opinion the plan of providing a small library of well-chosen books for each individual school has superior advantages. Taking the "reading age" of a school child (that is, the age during which a child attending one of our Elementary Schools can be induced to read books for himself) as from 9 to 14 years, he can scarcely read more than a *total* of about 250 books. Of course, a child could "skim through" a far larger number of books than this, but it is a part of the duty of the teacher to teach a child how to read intelligently and thoroughly, and every skilful teacher could do this without detracting from the child's interest and pleasure in the books. The expenditure would, therefore, not be prohibitive; and the amount spent in the Hereford Scheme in distribution, etc., would go far to meet the cost of renewals and repairs. The children and teachers, too, would take a greater pride in their own school library; the books would therefore be more carefully handled; it would be easier to obtain donations of suitable books from parents, managers, and others interested in the particular school; and anxious parents would place fewer obstacles in the way of their children's using the books.

Suitable books for children's use are not expensive, and the best and "cleanest" books—so far as my experience goes—always appeal to well-trained children most.

I feel that these criticisms call for a more reasoned reply than I am able to give to them without knowing what your experience of the Hereford Scheme would lead you to say on the point. Hence my troubling you on the matter.

Canon Bannister consulted the Bishop, who replied :

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
June 26, 1913.

DEAR BANNISTER—The critic of our scheme can hardly have had much experience. The great advantage of the Circulating Box over the Permanent Library is that it excites and keeps up the interests of both teachers and pupils to an extent impossible with a stationary list of books.

Moreover, the books are fresher and cleaner, as in the Stationary Library they inevitably grow musty. Also it increases the curiosity and interest of parents as to the books that may be brought home when a new box arrives. And finally it is cheaper, to say nothing of the difficulty of raising the capital required for a library in poor rural parishes.

There is no reason why, where possible, our scheme should not work together with the local provision of a small number of books specially chosen as a Permanent Library for definite purposes.—
Yours sincerely,

J. HEREFORD.

Percival never limited his efforts for the welfare of his diocese to the ecclesiastical sphere ; his concern for general education led him to such efforts as that of the Book Boxes and to continuous labour for the development of education in both urban and rural areas. The following notes on his educational work at Hereford are contributed by Mr. Theodore Neild of Leominster :

In 1895 and for many years afterwards education was at a discount in Herefordshire. The care of it had been suddenly imposed upon a County Council elected to look after agriculture, the roads and the rates. An unkind critic was heard to say that the C.C. had but one fixed educational ideal, and that this was not to have any rate for Secondary Education. He would have

to admit, however, that in recent years many unexpected things had come about, including that very rate.

The Bishop naturally was co-opted upon the Local Education Authority soon after his entry upon his diocese, and was a regular attender throughout his stay. As might have been expected under the conditions described his influence on that body was by no means equal to his deserts. For while there were those who were aware of his past and respected his earnestness and wisdom, there were also those who hated his politics and his breadth of religious view, and seemed to pride themselves on an ostentatious disregard of his comparatively infrequent utterances. It was typical of his unwillingness to neglect any opportunity of educational usefulness that his special work on the Education Authority was the chairmanship of the Evening Class Subcommittee, the work of which post he diligently fulfilled.

His interest in Elementary Education was less direct, but it showed itself in the plea which he put in from time to time for the supply of fully trained teachers; if it had been possible he would have excluded all uncertificated teachers. And he expended a sum of money given him by his friend, Mr. Carnegie, in books which were sent about from school to school in boxes, the carriage of which Dr. Percival defrayed himself.

His interest in Secondary Schools was more direct. He was upon the Boards of the Secondary Schools of the city, and would give addresses at their public functions.

Perhaps, however, his most strenuous educational effort was his attempt to turn an old educational foundation at Staunton-on-Wye with well situated buildings which had cost £35,000, to better account both for the neighbourhood and for the County. In his capacity as Bishop he was chairman of the trustees of the charity, and felt it to be a serious responsibility that hardly any real educational advantage was accruing to the beneficiaries under the trust, though the many devices for expending the income failed to absorb it.

The Board of Education consequently had endeavoured to get possession of the endowment for wider purposes, but had been defeated by the trustees. As a result matters had reached a deadlock, for all proposals made by the trustees for the increase of educational advantages were regarded by the Board as devices to render the poorly used endowment more secure to the locality.

In 1910, however, the Bishop felt that a fresh attempt ought to be made; an influential Sub-committee drew up a fresh case to submit to the Board, and an interview was arranged with Mr. Pease. Probably in consequence of previous failures, only one

colleague accompanied him. The Bishop's good faith was beyond suspicion, but it was only after long and earnest entreaty that leave was given for the trustees to devote any substantial amount of the endowment to the creation of higher classes with a rural bias, and then only as an experiment.

This much having been attained, the Bishop spared no thought nor pains to render the experiment a success. It was inspiring to those who had known him as head of a college and of two great public schools to see the elasticity of the veteran's mind, to note how carefully he thought out what the needs of an out-of-the-way country parish were, and the route by which the village folk could be led to wish for what was best. His great humility in seeking advice from those who had had any experience with experiments at all in the same direction won him regard and reverence. He drew up the curriculum himself, took great pains to secure the best staff that the school purse would allow, and by personal contact sought to imbue them with his own high aims, and also with the hope that from a somewhat humble beginning would ultimately emerge a Rural Secondary School of importance, that would be of great value to the neighbourhood, to the County, and do pioneer work in a direction that students of education desired to see increasingly taken. He rarely missed a meeting of the trustees or of the managers, though it meant a journey of twenty miles to attend.

In spite of great difficulties, including the War, the School had a large measure of success; the experimental period was extended from time to time, and there were indications that the Department was not unfavourable to a scheme which was upon lines on which it was already wishful to travel wherever possible.

Some of the local trustees, however, who were unable to share his conceptions, or who were afraid that local interests might suffer, or who felt uncertainty as to what changes the end of the War might bring, were insistent that no forward step should be taken until that end came. This was a source of poignant regret to the Bishop, who, in a letter to Mr. Fisher, had expressed the hope that he might see such a school as he had sketched established before he died, and who had, there can be little doubt, remained longer at Hereford in the hope of the realisation of his vision. And almost up to the time of his leaving for Oxford, when not strong enough to speak above a whisper, he was unwilling to forego an interview with a colleague who could bring him news of the progress of the scheme on which his heart had been so set

It may not be out of place to refer to Dr. Percival's appreciation of the work, educative and other, of Adult Schools. On one occasion he gave the Friends' Adult School in Hereford an address that was felt to be memorable, so "intensely human," simple and strong was it. He said to the men: "the Hebrew prophets were messengers to the people, informal teachers; inspired laymen who received a call to work for God, just as some of you have. They belonged to all classes. Isaiah belonged to the official or court class, whilst Amos and others belonged to the labouring class. Isaiah was one of the best laymen, he was the salt of his generation. Remember God works through the inspired layman." He spoke of our slowness to recognise the brotherhood of coloured races. And he wound up with a warning against drunkenness, bad language, impurity, and gambling.

During this period the Bishop was showing his zeal both for education and for overseas missions by his work as Chairman of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Oxford and Cambridge Missionary Exhibitions Committee. This Committee was established on January 25, 1905, and from that time until his resignation of the see, Percival presided over its deliberations. The scheme was one for providing exhibitions to enable men, who proposed to offer themselves for service as missionaries, to go into residence at Oxford or Cambridge. Percival was very regular in attendance at the meetings of this Committee, and the success of its enterprise owed much to his thoughtfulness and attention to detail.

Naturally he was eager to help University Extension in his own diocese. Hereford had been one of the earliest Oxford centres, though its career as an Extension centre was not perfectly continuous. One of his first acts on arriving at Hereford had been to attend an Extension meeting, and throughout his episcopate he was Chairman of the Local Extension Committee. He constantly gave evening parties for the Extension students, and was never in better form than on these occasions. As one of his first meetings in Hereford was in connection with this work, so one of the last was a meeting of the Extension Committee, when he went with his accustomed thoroughness into all the details of the balance-sheet. No cause claimed from him a more

devoted service than the promotion of Higher Education in all its forms.¹

The fourth Visitation was held in 1907, and the Bishop took occasion to deal with the controversy about Voluntary Schools.² In the same year he launched what from this time until the outbreak of the Great War was one of his most cherished efforts. At the Diocesan Conference in October 1907 the following resolutions were passed :

(a) That more attention should be given in the public teaching of the Church to the obligation resting on all Christians to apply in practice the principles of the gospel as to the duty of the Christian to his neighbour, with special reference to the moral character of the actual conditions of industrial life, but that care should be taken to guard against the risks involved in any partisan use of the Christian pulpit ;

(b) That as recommended in the Report of the Industrial Relations Committee of the Lambeth Conference, 1907, it is desirable to form in this diocese, as part of local Church organisation, a Standing Social Service Committee, to encourage the general study of social and industrial problems from the Christian point of view, and to assist in creating and strengthening an enlightened public opinion in regard to such problems, and generally to promote a more active spirit of social service as a part of individual duty.

(c) That the Bishop be asked to nominate six or more clergy and a corresponding number of laymen to serve on such a Committee ; who shall report to the next meeting of the Conference, and hold office until their report is presented, and shall have power to add to their number.

The Committee was appointed accordingly, and at its first meeting Sir James Rankin was elected Chairman, Colonel Middleton Vice-chairman, and Canon Bannister Secretary. The Bishop followed its work with the closest interest. Its reports, dealing with such questions as the Wages of Agricultural and Unskilled Labourers, the Supply and State of Cottages in Country Districts, the Rent of Cottages, the Extent of Drunkenness, Gambling and Immorality, did much to bring home to the Church people of Hereford the

¹ See Chapter XI.

² See pp. 191-193.

nature of the problem, and to prepare for better days. The changes brought about through the war have made the particular statements and recommendations of the Committee obsolete ; but at the time of their issue, the statements of fact were thorough and illuminating and the recommendations were far-reaching. The Bishop showed the greatest keenness about this work and was insistent in pressing home the needs which the Committee brought to light.

On August 14, 1908, the Bishop's eldest son, Robert Percival, had died after a long and painful illness. He had been living at "The Hermitage," a beautiful house on a hill seven miles from Hereford, which the Bishop had bought for him and his wife six years earlier. It was a great joy to the Bishop to ride out to see him whenever he could find time. His death when it came was in the nature of a release, but none the less a bitter sorrow to the old man whom successive bereavements were making more and more lonely. It is one of the penalties of early distinction that it tends to lead a man to make friends with men older than himself. Then, as old age comes, he is left more and more alone ; if in addition he is bereaved of his children, the solitude becomes almost complete. Had it not been for the devoted companionship of Mrs. Percival, the Bishop would have increasingly felt this solitude. For since the turn of the century many old and dear friends had gone.

To Mrs. Killigrew Wait

(Home to-morrow early.)

LOLLARDS' TOWER, LAMBETH, S.E.

December 11, 1902.

DEAR MRS. WAIT—I hardly know how to write to you on hearing of the sad news of Killigrew's death ; for I am feeling as if one of the dearest threads of my life had been snapped without notice. On you the blows have indeed fallen heavily of late. May God give you His best consolations. And indeed you have many of these in your family around you, and all the happy memories and associations of love and pride when you think of your dear husband, and in the hopes beyond the veil. I knew no one whose soul was more attuned to worship there.

Perhaps Mary will kindly let me know the day and hour and

place of the funeral. Some fixed engagement may make it impossible for me to come, but I will be there if I can.—Always yours affectionately,

J. HEREFORD.

To Miss Wait

THE ATHENAEUM,
July 25, 1904.

DEAR MARY—I am grieved to hear that your dear mother is very ill, and that you fear she may not live long. If you feel it desirable to give her the enclosed, you will do so ; if not, please to keep it back and give her such messages from me as you think best.—Yours affectionately,

J. HEREFORD.

To Mrs. Killigrew Wait

LOLLARDS' TOWER, LAMBETH, S.E.
July 25, 1904.

DEAR MRS. WAIT—I am sorely grieved to hear that your illness has taken a bad turn, and though I cannot express my feelings as I could wish I desire to say what you feel sure of without my saying it that my affectionate sympathy and my prayers are with you every day.

I shall know no other friends on earth like you and your husband ; and I too begin to look beyond the veil and to think as you are doing more of the meetings than the partings. May our Heavenly Father give you His own support and consolations.—Always your affectionate friend,

J. HEREFORD.

To Miss Wait

THE ATHENAEUM, PALL MALL, S.W.
August 3, 1904.

DEAR MARY—I was very sorry that I could not come yesterday as I was obliged to be in London. My thoughts are much with you in your home, where you must all be feeling the desolation at every turn. For myself I may say that the loss of your father and mother means the loss of the friends who were more to me than any one else outside my own family.—Always yours affectionately,

J. HEREFORD.

It was thus in an increasing loneliness that Percival worked on into the evening of his days. But the energy did

not fail, and no opportunity was missed. Certainly he was not the man to miss any chance of helping forward the social service which he urged upon others. As soon as the Labour Exchanges began to come into operation he circulated the following letter to the Rural Deans of the diocese :

Labour Exchanges

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
November 1910.

MY DEAR RURAL DEAN—May I ask you to be good enough to help me through the parochial clergy of your Deanery to discharge a public duty which arises out of a recent Act of Parliament—The Labour Exchanges Act, 1909. The Board of Trade has divided the United Kingdom into ten Divisions one of which—our West Midland Division—has its centre at Birmingham. I am asked by the Divisional Officer, Mr. John T. Homer, J.P., to assist him in making known the purpose and value of the Act, and I am very glad to do so. The Act is intended to help all persons of both sexes, and particularly the juveniles, to find work suitable to their capacities, and to help employers to find the workers whom they need. It is thought, and I think rightly, by Mr. Homer, that the clergy are most likely to know of such persons, and particularly of the young people, and that in many cases they can best help them by showing them how to put themselves into communication with the nearest official of the Labour Exchange Department. It is hoped shortly to arrange that notices shall be posted in many Post Offices and Police Stations stating where the nearest officer of the Labour Exchange Department is to be found. Exchanges are about to be opened at Hereford, Shrewsbury, and Ironbridge. Travelling officers will also be sent in time to other local centres in Herefordshire and Shropshire.

The object of the Department is to bring the employer and the unemployed into touch in regard to every kind of labour, trade, and occupation, except indoor domestic service.

Every one needing employment, from a manager to a labourer, and every employer wanting such a person, is invited to make use of the Labour Exchanges. It must be distinctly understood that an employer has full right of selection from those registered at the Exchanges and that no effort will be spared by the Department to provide the most suitable person for the work. The Exchange does not undertake the relief of distress but seeks to provide an efficient means whereby employer and unemployed may be

brought together. Indirectly, of course, it will save much distress and hardship, and make it unnecessary for men and women to wander about in search of work.

I hope that the clergy will kindly insert this letter in their parochial magazines for January, and will do all in their power in other ways to bring the matter to the notice of both employers and unemployed. The success already achieved by the Exchanges is shown by the Board of Trade figures published about the middle of each month, and any further information about the system will be willingly supplied by the Divisional Officer, 164 Corporation Street, Birmingham.—Believe me, Yours sincerely,

J. HEREFORD.

The early summer of 1911 was occupied by a heated controversy. It was the year of King George's Coronation, and Percival held a United Communion Service in Hereford Cathedral. This was the occasion of much conflict, but the story must be told separately. As a result of this controversy he was naturally much exhausted and in September went abroad with his wife and revelled in the beauty of the Italian Lakes ; but even then he was writing letters all the time in preparation for his Diocesan Conference at which he was especially eager to secure a strong discussion of social questions. In the November of this year he issued a Supplement to the *Diocesan Messenger*, summarising the results of an inquiry which he had made of all incumbents in the diocese with regard to work for lads and young men which they had found specially useful. Perhaps none of the forms of work described are at all original ; indeed they hardly could be ; but the gathering of them together in one brief statement was a most practical way of helping the clergy to solve "one of the most pressing of all social problems in a diocese like ours, namely, how to raise the low standard of morals and conduct which still prevail in many of our rural parishes."

This interest in the welfare of boys carried Percival beyond the limits of his diocese. Mr. J. H. Whitehouse gives the following account of his work in connection with the National League of Workers with Boys :

Dr. Percival was the first President of the National League of

Workers with Boys. The Society included the Heads of many of the organisations for boys scattered throughout the country, as well as a large number of schoolmasters and others interested in education. He held the Presidency until his death. The work of the Society is still carried on, but the League has been merged in the Society for Experiment and Research in Education.

During the years of his Presidency the Bishop took the warmest interest in the objects of the Society, and particularly applied himself to constructive suggestions to deal with the evils of casual labour, blind alley occupations for young persons, and the educational neglect of our youth.

I was in frequent correspondence with him on these questions, and we often met at the House of Commons or the House of Lords to consider aspects which might be brought up in Parliament either in the form of questions or of Bills.

In the year 1909 there was considerable interest shown in the Press and in Parliament upon such subjects as street trading by children, and blind alley occupations generally, and a Committee was set up by the Home Secretary to enquire into some aspects of these questions.

In July of this year the Bishop wrote me the following letter :

“DEAR MR. WHITEHOUSE—Best thanks for your letter of 12th inst. The objections of employers show how entirely the feeling of responsibility for boys whom they are employing (and very often at a cheap rate) has disappeared from the minds of employers, and the need of revival. I hope you will stick to the point and I am glad to see your name on a Commission of Inquiry. A short Bill dealing with this subject alone, however modest, would be very useful as a beginning.—Yours sincerely,

J. HEREFORD.”

Later in the same year Dr. Percival submitted to me the following suggestions for dealing with the employment of boys under the age of 17 :

1. Every boy under 17 seeking employment to present a certificate stating his age and the occupation for which he is preparing when he reaches the age of 17.
2. Such certificates to be obtained at the nearest Post Office, filled up before the Post Office official ; counterfoil to be kept at the Post Office.
3. Every employer to keep a record of these certificates, to be shown whenever required to the educational or the police Authority.

4. Any one employing a boy under 17 without such certificate to be liable to a fine for each case, not exceeding £—.
5. No boy under 17 to be employed for more than — hours each day.
6. The Local Authority to be supplied weekly by the Post Office (or by the Headmaster of the School when the boy leaves it), with a list of boys in the district certificated for employment ; to make reasonable provision for their general or industrial education, and to have power by bye-laws to enforce attendance on such instruction.
7. Any boys under 17 who have left school and are not in employment to be liable to be taken by the police to the magistrates. Regulations to be made for such boys.

I had many conferences with the Bishop upon these proposals, and he ultimately drew up a short Bill for introduction in the House of Lords.

He was deeply concerned with the failure of the elementary school system. He wanted to see the school age raised and to control the employment of these boys in order to prevent their going to any work which would not give them a career in life. He was always very impressed by the necessity of surrounding working boys with sympathetic influences after they had left school, and I have a number of letters from him in the year 1909 respecting a boys' club which he was anxious to found at Hereford.

On July 28th in that year he wrote to me :

" We are thinking of establishing a boys' club here, to be joined, as soon as may be, by boys after leaving the elementary school. Can you kindly send me copies of any useful and suitable rules, and any hints or suggestions arising out of your experience ? "

I do not now remember whether his scheme was successfully carried out at Hereford.

The Report of the Royal Commission upon the Poor Law was published in 1909, and Dr. Percival took great interest in its constructive proposals, particularly those of the Minority Report.

He wrote to me from the Lollards' Tower in April 1910 :

" I wonder if you could, without trouble, do me a little favour ? On Wednesday morning I have to meet a Convocation Committee on the Poor Law, and I should be grateful if you could tell me in a few words what points you think it would be well for us in our Report to press upon the Government as most urgent for legislation."

As a result of this letter, we had a discussion covering the chief questions dealt with by the Commission, and he realised that the subject was so vast that it was hopeless to expect a comprehensive measure on the lines of the Minority Report at any early date. He agreed that for immediate purposes the better plan would be to try to induce the Government to take action upon some detail of the problem such as the question of boy labour. He thought it might be possible to induce the Government to take action in this connection, and pave the way for further reforms.

Dr. Percival retained until his death the deepest interest in all the causes which the Society sought to promote in Parliament and elsewhere. He helped forward a project by which, in the year 1912, a large number of educationalists and representative workers amongst boys produced a book entitled *Problems of Boy Life*, and he wrote an introduction to the book, from which the following is quoted :

“ Being allowed the privilege of writing a few words of introduction to this book, I desire to commend it to the sympathetic attention of all who care for social betterment and progress.

“ Of late years the public conscience has been stirred, and none too soon, to a sense of the dangers, moral and physical, involved in the overcrowded and squalid life of the working multitudes in our great cities ; and thoughtful men are becoming unanimously of opinion that for our national well-being it is imperative that the conditions of this life should be altered without longer delay, and no reforms are more urgent than those that deal with the up-bringing of the young.

“ Hence the special value of such a book as this, a value which is enhanced by the fact that the writers claim our attention, as having themselves personally worked at the problems with which they deal and as having thus acquired a first-hand knowledge of both the needs and the difficulties which confront us in our endeavours to make up for the absent-mindedness of past years and the unheeded growth of vast slum populations whose lot is a discredit to our Christian civilisation.”

Shortly before the Bishop's death it was my privilege to lay before him on behalf of many friends in both Houses of Parliament a proposal to hold a public function in recognition of his services to the cause of the youth of the country. He was too ill to accept this tribute to his work. But I was charged to convey to his friends the assurance that to the end he would do everything in his power to press forward the reforms he and they desired to see.

During 1912 a beginning was made with the formation of the Agricultural Labourers' Union in Herefordshire. The Bishop privately subscribed to the first "agitation." The local agent had written to him asking for his support. A few months later this agent, who had attempted to form a union in the District where he was himself a working farm foreman, was brought into the courts. The Bishop promptly sent further help to be used in his defence :

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,

August 14, 1912.

DEAR BANNISTER—I am sorry to hear what has befallen —, and I enclose £5, which you will kindly use at your discretion. I hope his prosecutors may hear some plain speaking on the nature of their conduct.

The way of the man who endeavours to lift his class to a share of the sunshine is certainly a hard one.—Yours sincerely,

J HEREFORD.

There can be no doubt that Percival had hoped to be translated to the Archbishopric of York. And he had grounds for this hope. It had been known for a considerable time that a vacancy in that see was imminent, and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman had plainly given Percival to understand that he intended to nominate him for the appointment. When the vacancy occurred, Sir Henry was already dead. Mr. Asquith decided on the appointment of a man in full vigour, and wrote to Percival to say that he had felt bound to come to the conclusion that he was now too old to take up new work of so arduous a kind. That it was a deep disappointment is unquestionable. The Dean of Bristol had a letter from him in which he said, "Asquith has sent me my obituary notice." The Dean's brother, Prebendary Wynne Willson, writes : "When I saw him on the day of the announcement of Lang's appointment, he was less reticent than I ever knew him to be. He sketched some of his plans that he had had in view, specially in relation to the new northern universities. Though his best friends knew he could not cope with the work, he himself did not yet feel the limitations of his age."

He had always hoped for work in the industrial North, and he believed that as Archbishop of York he would have been able to bring the Church into living contact both with the new universities and with the great centres of the Labour Movement. He knew that he had a hold on the working men of the Midlands and the North, for to the very end of his active life the announcement of his name as preacher or speaker would pack any church or hall. It was mainly for the sake of the work that he felt he could still do in connection with social progress, and for the drawing together of the Church and the rising democracy, that he desired the opportunity which York would have given him.

Towards the end of the year in which he suffered this disappointment, and thereby learnt that his work would be at Hereford while strength for work lasted, he formed a scheme for using part of the Palace as a hostel for students of theology preparing for ordination. In December 1909 he circulated the following letter to many tutors at Oxford and Cambridge and to others who were in a position to influence young men in their choice of a Theological College :

Private

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
December 4, 1909.

DEAR — This letter is written for the purpose of informing those of my friends who may wish to make use of the information that I am proposing to receive here a limited number of young university graduates who are preparing for Holy Orders, and that the work will commence next July, if a sufficient number of students have applied before Easter, and are ready to begin their course of preparation.

I am led to enter upon this piece of work partly because of the need of such assistance as can be offered here to candidates for Orders, and partly by the fact that I now have available for such a purpose a very suitable portion of my Palace, and other accommodation close by, but more particularly because I am so fortunate as to have around me in the Cathedral body, and in the immediate neighbourhood, a group of unusually able and experienced clergy who are desirous of doing some good service for our Church by assisting in the instruction and training of young men for the work of the ministry.

The students will be under the immediate charge and direction of Canon Bannister and Dr. Hastings Rashdall (both of them Canons Residentiary in our Cathedral), with one of my chaplains as resident tutor.

For the courses of instruction in the various subjects required, as also for tutorial guidance, they will moreover have the assistance of :

The Rev. Canon Capes, Canon Residentiary of Hereford ;

The Rev. Charles Harris, D.D., Rector of Colwall, Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Llandaff, and sometime Theological Lecturer at Lampeter ; and

The Rev. T. W. Harvey, Vicar of Bosbury, formerly in charge of the Clifton College Mission in Bristol, and sometime Warden of the Lichfield Evangelist Brotherhood.

Occasional courses of lectures will also be given by other distinguished teachers.

Our Cathedral Library adjoins the Palace and will be at the disposal of the students ; and from my garden the Bishop's Cloister leads into the Cathedral, so that the position and surroundings are unusually favourable for the period of devout study and preparation between undergraduate life at the University and admission to Holy Orders.

Moreover, the city is close at hand, outside my gates, and valuable experience may be gained under the direction of one or other of our city incumbents.

The inclusive charges will be £20 per term of about eight weeks, the year being divided into four terms, arranged according to the Ember seasons.¹

Two or three Exhibitions, each of £40 per annum, can be offered to meritorious students, who may require the help.

Should you have any pupil or friend desiring such preparation as we have to offer, he should make application to Canon Bannister, The Close, Hereford ; or to Dr. Hastings Rashdall, New College, Oxford.—Believe me, yours faithfully,

J. HEREFORD.

P.S.—If by any chance a sufficient number of students should desire to begin their studies in March next, we could make arrangements to receive them then.

The scheme, however, found little support, partly, no doubt, because of the type of churchmanship which it was

¹ Only one paid, and he half-fees. The other two were taken free, the Bishop giving them hospitality for the three terms in the Palace.

expected to encourage, but partly also because the current of opinion was setting strongly towards larger Theological Colleges and away from small hostels. Those hostels which were already established under a leadership which had been tested and proved were able to maintain themselves. A new hostel, even if expected to encourage a school of thought that was acceptable to the majority of Bishops and to a fair proportion of the young men who were seeking ordination, would have had little hope of success. The hostel in the Palace at Hereford had not this advantage. Percival was regarded—to a far greater extent than was at all justified—as a partisan of Low or Broad if not even of anti-Church principles; and the most famous of those whose names were given, Dr. Hastings Rashdall, was widely known as a “Liberal Theologian,” while his moral earnestness, his power of sympathy and stimulus with young men, and his deep personal devotion and piety were familiar only to those who had the high privilege of his friendship. So the scheme failed. Only five students ever came, and the attempt was abandoned, to the Bishop’s profound disappointment.

A small storm arose in 1912 with reference to the Athanasian Creed. On Easter Day, in that year, the Bishop said to Canon Bannister, as they left the Cathedral together: “How terrible it sounded—those innocent choir boys repeating those awful words, ‘without doubt he shall perish everlastingly’ in the Athanasian Creed.” Canon Bannister replied, “If we have your support we will abandon the use of the Creed.” With the consent of the Chapter the change was made on St. Andrew’s Day, at the beginning of the Church’s year. It was not noticed publicly till just before Christmas when the Minor Canons sent a formal appeal to the Bishop, urging that the new use was a violation of the Cathedral Statutes and of the Declaration signed by all priests at their ordination, and that therefore the Chapter were both acting illegally and were hindering the Minor Canons in the discharge of their conscientious duty. This was sent to the Bishop on December 19, with a request for a prompt reply on the ground that “Christmas is so near, and action we may have to take depends upon what your Lordship may decide.”

It is clear that on legal grounds the Minor Canons had right on their side. The Chapter modified its decision, ordering that plain Mattins should be said with the Athanasian Creed at 8 A.M. and sung without it at 11. This met the legal claim of the Minor Canons and the Bishop replied to their Appeal on December 21 :

I am thankful that in acknowledging your letter I need do nothing more than express my satisfaction that your difficulty is happily settled by the decision of the Chapter.

This decision will keep within the guidance of the Rubric, maintain the testimony of the Creed, and at the same time relieve the general congregation who attend the 11 A.M. service from what most thoughtful lay people feel to be very painful—the repetition of the damnable clauses. No doubt you know how prevalent and strong the feeling is among the mass of educated lay people ; and I think some feel it to be even more painful to hear our boys cheerfully singing the tremendous words—“ without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.”

Under the circumstances, and now that the Chapter have made this arrangement in the hope of satisfying the different elements in the congregation, I hope you may feel able to give them all possible help, so as to smooth over any differences that may have arisen.

Whoever reads the earlier morning service will, of course, have fulfilled his statutory duties ; but it will make things much happier and will be a very appropriate exhibition of a kindly Christian spirit if you freely offer to take your part as usual in the choral service at 11 A.M., and I sincerely hope you may do this.

The Minor Canons, however, felt bound to absent themselves from the 11 A.M. service on Christmas Day. That afternoon the Bishop wrote to his son, the Rev. L. J. Percival :

We had a beautiful service at 11 A.M. without either Minor Canon or Athanasian Creed.

No doubt you saw in the newspapers that the Dean and Chapter made quite a flutter in ecclesiastical circles by deciding to omit the Athanasian Creed ; and the High Church people round the Cathedral are not pacified by their final decision to have plain Morning Prayer with that Creed at 8 A.M. and the Choral Mattins at 11 A.M. as on other days. They think it derogatory to the Athanasian Creed to delegate it to a plain

8 A.M. service, though I suppose this is nearer the Roman Use than 11 A.M.

The Bishop did not add, as he might have done, that many of those who insist on the repetition of the *Quicumque Vult* on the appointed days in the course of Morning Prayer do not themselves recite it at a service where the general congregation is present. If the "chief service of the day" is a Choral Eucharist, the recitation of this document is no longer required of the ordinary worshipper.

In April 1912 Percival became aware of rumours that he was on the point of resigning. In sending a statement of this belief, taken from some newspaper, to Canon Bannister he said :

Needless to say, the enclosed rumour is some person's genial invention. I know well enough that I am not of much use, but I see no reason why I should not "plough my allotted field until my work be done," and I happen to have the advantage of coming of a long-lived race.

He was eager to work as long as strength lasted ; in 1912 no serious failure had begun to show itself. But it is possible that a realisation that his time was short led him to press forward more doggedly than ever the causes which he had especially at heart.

CHAPTER XIII

REUNION AND THE UNITED COMMUNION SERVICE

PERCIVAL had always been keenly interested in efforts to promote more intimate relations with Nonconformists. This is one of the matters on which general opinion has moved most rapidly, and some historical imagination is already required if the motives and results of acts only ten years old are to be properly understood. Not so very long ago even practical co-operation with Nonconformists in social reform and the like was regarded by a large number of Anglicans as a betrayal of the Church. The differences of theological and ecclesiastical principles were often sharpened by political and social differences. Dissent was often condemned not as separation from the outward order of the Catholic Church, but as separation from the National Establishment. This was the prevailing point of view in the days when Percival's mind was chiefly being formed. He never set any high value on the one world-wide order of the Church. His spiritual zeal found its outlet chiefly in the demand for personal and public righteousness in the present and the near future. So it was natural for him to be vividly aware of spiritual unity with Nonconformists, who have often been foremost in the hunger and thirst after righteousness; and he was comparatively little impressed by the importance of the considerations which have held Church people back from any easy scheme of "reunion all round."

His first definite activity in the direction of co-operation with Nonconformists was in connection with the "Christian Conference" of which the following brief account is given by Mr. A. G. B. Atkinson :

The "Christian Conference" was a permanent organisation of Christians of all denominations, formed in 1881. Its formation was due to the initiation of Dr. Fremantle, then rector of St. Mary's, Bryanston Square. It was the object of the Conference to promote mutual knowledge and sympathy between men of various denominations with the intention of making the life of English people more Christian. Upon these lines meetings were held in London twice yearly for twenty years. Later, meetings of a more public character were arranged during the week of the Church Congress, and such meetings were held with much success at Bradford, London, and Newcastle. Thus an open platform was provided during the Congress Week, the Congress rules not admitting Nonconformists to take part. Dr. Percival was a warm supporter of the movement, his most noteworthy contribution to the discussions being at the meeting held in September 1899, intended as a supplementary meeting to the London Congress. Speaking on the general question of reunion, some striking utterances of the Bishop may be recalled :

"In the Church of England, which I am for a moment representing before you, there may still be some persons, although they are undoubtedly a diminishing number, who feel that a Bishop should hesitate to take any part in a mixed assembly of this kind.

"To reassure any of my fellow-churchmen who have this feeling, I would refer them to the Resolution of the Lambeth Conference of 1897, declaring that the time has come when efforts should be made to bring us nearer together in visible Christian unity.

"Such persons would probably remind me that as a Bishop I am bound with all faithful diligence to drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine, and I am not unmindful of the obligation.

"In coming here to-night, I come in the full consciousness of my promise solemnly made. The only liberty I claim in the matter is liberty to discard the antiquated, and I trust obsolete, weapons of an exclusive or persecuting church—weapons that belong to times of ignorance, and are very apt to recoil on the heads of those who make use of them.

"I gladly recognise—thus much is patent to all of us—the growth of kindlier relationships, and freer and more frequent social intercourse, and consequently a better understanding, between different denominations of Christians, with more of mutual respect. I am thankful also to see more readiness to join in common work for the public good, and of a religious character, and to widen the area of such common work.

"But when I go beyond this I am confronted by two opposing theories, which must finish their warfare before we can hope for

final unity—on the one hand, the theory of a Church crystallised, unchangeable, *semper eadem*, with creed immutably formulated, a mediatorial priesthood, and specially ordained and exclusive channels of sacramental grace ; and on the other hand, the theory of the Spirit of the Divine Christ working in human life in manifold ways and under many forms—a theory which welcomes as members of the Christian Church all who acknowledge Christ as the Lord of their life, and are moved and regenerated by the power of His Spirit.

“ Those of us who are drawing near to the day of our departure from this earthly scene can hardly hope to see the issue of this conflict. As it has lately been said in another connection, we shall miss some interesting discussions ; but we may go to our rest in the assured conviction that the prospect and promise of an active and beneficent religious spirit working strongly in the life of the coming century, and of a gradual growth towards some form of spiritual union in Christ, are becoming constantly clearer and brighter than any one would have ventured to predict forty years ago.

“ In all this I seem to see an augury of the day, how distant or how near no man would dare as yet to prophesy, when the creed of the great mass of English-speaking Christians may once more be a simpler creed than the creed of Christendom has ever been since Apostolic times ; when doctrinal differences which now separate us may no longer be held an insuperable barrier to communion ; when, with a keener consciousness of the Divine Fatherhood and our common brotherhood in Christ, men will be content to rely for their spiritual union less exclusively on dogmatic definitions, and more on filial piety and that spirit of Christian charity which is the clearest intimation that has been vouchsafed to us of our share in the divine life.”

The Milton tercentenary afforded an opportunity of action which Percival was prompt to seize. Towards the close of 1908 he issued the following letter to various clergy and Nonconformist ministers in the diocese :

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
December 1, 1908.

MY DEAR BROTHER IN CHRIST—The Lambeth Conference of Bishops in 1908 recommended that “ Committees should be appointed to watch for opportunities of united prayer and mutual conference between representatives of different Christian

bodies, and to give counsel where counsel may be asked in this matter."

This Resolution has, I fear, remained to a great extent a dead letter, the fact being that most of us are liable, after gathering in conference and expressing admirable sentiments in general resolutions, to go away and become immersed in our individual concerns, and forget all about them.

Again, the last Resolution proposed at the Lambeth Conference, which was attended this year by about 242 Bishops, runs as follows :

"The constituted authorities of the various Churches of the Anglican Communion should, as opportunity offers, arrange conferences with other Christian Churches and meetings for common acknowledgment of the sins of division, and for intercession for the growth of unity."

These resolutions and suggestions, coming from such an authoritative source, it will be generally acknowledged, ought not to be practically overlooked or disregarded.

But they remain of little value, if we simply treat them as pious opinions and take no steps to give them practical effect in neighbourly action and intercourse.

And, having this feeling in my mind, it has occurred to me that the tercentenary of Milton's birth offers an unusually appropriate occasion for a neighbourly gathering of Christians of different denominations for common worship and conference in honour of his great name and in the cause of godly union and concord.

To Milton, as to Bunyan, our religious and literary life, to whatever denomination we may belong, owes more than any of us can estimate, and our common indebtedness to such supremely gifted souls should help to lift us above those traditional sectarian barriers which too commonly divide us, stopping the flow of Christian brotherhood and fellowship.

Consequently I am venturing to invite you to a Conference at The Palace, on Saturday December 12, at 2.15 P.M. Besides our Dean and other Clergy of the Diocese, I hope to have with us the Dean of Worcester and Canon Wilson, the Rev. Dr. Horton, the Rev. Arnold Thomas of Bristol, Professor Herford of Manchester, and the Nonconformist ministers of our city and neighbourhood.

Also I have arranged, in co-operation with the Dean, for a short service of United Prayer and Praise in the Cathedral on Sunday December 13, at 3 P.M., with a Sermon by Prebendary Bannister. To this service we hope to gather people of goodwill belonging to every Christian denomination in the city and

neighbourhood, and I shall be grateful if you will kindly make it known to your parish or congregation.—Believe me, yours sincerely,

J. HEREFORD.

The Conference duly took place in the Cathedral Library on Saturday, December 12. The occasion was to celebrate the tercentenary of Milton's birth, and the speeches delivered were confined to this topic. The other speakers, beside the Bishop, were the Rev. Arnold Thomas, the Dean of Worcester, Dr. Horton and Dr. Harris. Votes of thanks were proposed by the Dean of Hereford and the Rev. D. Basil Martin. On the following day a special service was held in the Cathedral at 2.45. The Dean read the prayers, Dr. Horton read the lesson and Prebendary Bannister preached the sermon.

Soon after this the Bishop took a prominent part in establishing a "Christian Ministers' Club" in Hereford, consisting of Canons of the Cathedral, about a dozen local clergy and as many Nonconformist ministers. The club met every month, alternately at the house of a Churchman and of a Nonconformist, for prayer, Scripture study, and discussion.

A little later, in 1910, largely as a result of mutual intercourse at this club, Canon Bannister, with the Bishop's consent and encouragement, delivered an address at the Wesleyan Harvest Festival in Hereford. The Bishop gave him a letter to "our Wesleyan neighbours," expressing the hope that the result might be "to strengthen the growing spirit of unity and goodwill and co-operation in all good works, which is one of the most hopeful signs in the religious life of our day." Canon Bannister said in the course of his address, with the Bishop's approval, that we must "never rest content until we have learned to join one another in the highest act of prayer—until we have established the custom of intercommunion, of uniting, from time to time, with those of another household, in the Supper of the Lord."

All through his life Percival had many intimate friends among the ministers of the Free Churches. Chief among these

perhaps was Dr. J. B. Paton, the famous Congregationalist divine, whose death fell early in 1911. Percival attended the funeral and delivered an address at the graveside :

As we stand at the grave of Dr. Paton, while we mourn the loss of a dear friend, who was one of the finest and most lovable Christian characters of our generation, we think of him, in particular, as having been in a unique sense the apostle amongst us of Christian social service.

Unresting and untiring in his beneficial activity, endowed with never-failing enthusiasm and an all-embracing charity, he was the soul of the many good causes for which he laboured, and he combined in a remarkable degree the gifts of original and constructive imagination on questions of social well-being with a rare power of embodying his ideas in a practical form.

Thus he was at once an inspiring prophet and a practical leader in the pioneering work of social service for the love of Christ ; and for my own part as my mind travels over the forty-six years of our intimate friendship, I feel that I have known no one of whom it could be said that he was at once so free from every denominational prejudice and so unselfishly devoted to good works and endowed with a mind so fertile in suggestion, and a Christian enthusiasm so inspiring. The memory of such a life is a great possession, and we thank God for it.

In the letter of invitation to the Conference which was held to celebrate the Milton tercentenary, Percival alluded to the fact that the Lambeth Conference of 1908 passed various resolutions on the subject of Reunion. In these the essential principles of the Church of England were declared and the hope of Reunion by ways compatible with these principles was expressed. In particular the Conference reaffirmed the resolution of the Conference of 1897 that "Every opportunity should be taken to emphasise the Divine purpose of visible unity amongst Christians as a fact of revelation." Bishop Percival repeatedly urged that such resolutions were not only useless but hypocritical and harmful if they led in fact to no action. An opportunity of the kind referred to in the Resolution seemed to him to be offered by the Coronation of King George V. It was a time when national unity would be specially present to the minds of all

men, and it seemed to him desirable to give the completest possible expression to the unity of English Christians. The idea was not suddenly conceived; he had in the previous year sanctioned the expression by one of his clergy of the hope that such a step might be taken, and on January 1, 1911, he had written as follows to his friend Canon Cremer:

Private

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
New Year's Day, 1911.

DEAR MR. CREMER—I hope I thanked you for your letters written last October, but I sometimes fail to carry out good intentions in such matters. Anyhow I have kept them, and now I am writing to ask whether you have looked carefully into the legal points as regards our relation with Nonconformists? I should rather like at some appropriate time to establish the precedent of a Bishop inviting Nonconformist neighbours to a joint Communion, but they might naturally say in reply—would you or your clergy come and join in our services, and I feel that before taking any active steps one should be quite clear as to what would be well within the limits of the law.

All this I know you have considered, so that you can, I hope, save me some trouble by telling me your conclusions and the authorities, and I feel sure you will be glad to help me in this way.

With every good wish for the New Year, ever yours sincerely,
J. HEREFORD.

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
Jan. 9, 1911.

DEAR MR. CREMER—Many thanks for your kind and helpful reply to my inquiry. I will make some further inquiries of some lawyer, so as to see exactly how we stand in the eye of the law.—Yours sincerely,
J. HEREFORD.

The result of his inquiries was that he decided to hold in the Cathedral a celebration of the Holy Communion to which Nonconformists were invited. He announced his intention in the following letter to the *Diocesan Messenger*:

The Coronation.—To assist in the due celebration of the Coronation Day, Thursday, the 22nd of June, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York have commended certain forms of prayer and thanksgiving to Almighty God for general use.

Cheap copies of these forms can be obtained from either the Oxford or the Cambridge University Press ; and my hope is that they may be adopted by our clergy and used in every church of the diocese as the expression of our sincere and earnest prayer that the blessing of God may rest abundantly on our King and Queen through a long and happy reign, and that it may be a reign of growing peace, prosperity, and goodwill, blessed to their people everywhere in the increase of righteousness and truth, and the uplifting, the purifying, and the brightening of all the common life.

United Service of Holy Communion.—Such a season of prayer and thanksgiving, drawing together all classes and all denominations in the spirit of loyalty, patriotism, and goodwill, and lifting us by its influence above the atmosphere of religious divisions, must be recognised as peculiarly appropriate for any united religious service in which we can properly join.

Accordingly, with the cordial support of the Dean, I am venturing to add to our regular Diocesan Services and Festivals of Thanksgiving a celebration of the Holy Communion in our Cathedral at 11.30 A.M. on Wednesday, the 28th of June, to which I propose to invite both members of our own Church and also such of our Nonconformist neighbours and friends as may feel moved to join in our worship on this unique occasion.

My hope is that such an invitation may be of service in helping to promote amongst us the true spirit of godly union and concord.

At the same time I am aware that it may possibly raise scruples in the minds of some of our clergy, and I freely acknowledge my sympathy with such scruples, though I hope to show that in this case there is no real ground for them.

As an old man I know how difficult it is for us to emancipate ourselves from the influence and power of any traditional doctrines or views of our earlier years, which the advance of knowledge may have proved to be no longer tenable, and this difficulty comes to us of the older generation at the present time with unusual force, because we are living in an age of unusual transition as regards Biblical knowledge and ecclesiastical tradition.

Thus those of us who were taught the traditional doctrine of Apostolical Succession naturally feel that episcopacy is essential to the Church of Christ, and communion with non-episcopal Christians is consequently difficult to accept ; but as it is now almost universally recognised that, whilst episcopacy (to use the language of theologians) is of the *bene esse*, it is not of the *esse* of the Church, in other words that, good and valuable as history has proved it and as we believe it to be, it is not an essential

and indispensable part of the Church's organisation, there is in fact no sufficient reason why episcopal and non-episcopal Christians, holding the same creeds, and believing in the same sacraments, should not kneel together at the Lord's Table.

By such an act of united worship in the spirit of Christian brotherhood we shall in fact be helping to give practical effect to the recommendations of the last Lambeth Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion, who were very emphatic as to our duty to join in every reasonable effort towards the friendly relationships and closer union in Christ of all who profess to be His disciples and followers.

There is, however, another difficulty which may be felt by many loyal churchmen. The rubric at the end of our Confirmation Service states that none should be admitted to Holy Communion but such as have been confirmed or are desirous of being confirmed.

This direction would constitute a grave and serious difficulty if it applied to this case, but it is, I think, quite clear that it does not apply ; and it may be helpful to quote some authoritative opinions on the subject.

Bishop Creighton, as we are told in his life, held that this rubric was intended solely as a direction for normal cases in our own Church, and did not contemplate the case of Nonconformists, and he said that Archbishop Benson agreed with him in this view. Archbishop Maclagan held the same view.

Similarly Archbishop Tait wrote that the Rubric applied solely to our own people and not to those members of foreign or dissenting bodies who occasionally conform. Other leading churchmen might be quoted to the same effect.

Moreover, as is well known, members of other Protestant churches were in former years freely admitted to Communion in our Church, so that in this invitation we shall be transgressing no rule of church order, whilst we shall be acting on a most appropriate occasion in that spirit of charity and goodwill which is the essential and indispensable condition of true Christian unity.

On such grounds I invite my fellow churchmen in the diocese to join in our service on the 28th of June ; and I do so feeling confident of their loyal response in the spirit of Christian brotherhood and love.

J. HEREFORD.

The letter which he issued to the Nonconformist ministers was as follows :

Letter to Nonconformist Ministers

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
May 1911.

DEAR SIR—Seeing that we all desire to assist in making the approaching Coronation season memorable as a time of unity and goodwill amongst all the loyal subjects of our Sovereign, a time for the healing of divisions, and the promotion of mutual charity, it has occurred to me and to some of my fellow churchmen that it would be a fitting conclusion to our religious services and our loyal thanksgivings if we could hold in our Cathedral a service of Holy Communion in which Christians of all denominations might be invited to join.

Accordingly, with the cordial support of the Dean, I have the privilege of asking you to convey to members of your congregation our invitation to join in such a service on Wednesday, 28th June, at 11.30 A.M.

We feel that a united service of this character will be a truly happy accompaniment of our dutiful and loyal celebration of the new reign of our King and Queen, and we see no reason why those who believe in the same Divine Lord, and accept the same creeds and the same Sacraments, should not at such a time, forgetting secondary differences, kneel together at the Lord's Table; and our hope is that such a gathering for united worship in the central church of the diocese may be of real benefit in strengthening amongst us that spirit of godly union and concord which all Christian people desire to promote.

At ordinary times we may feel it somewhat difficult to take any practical steps towards giving effect to this desire, though we know that it can never be really fulfilled or be more than a pious aspiration without some such individual initiative. To this initiative we are specially invited by such an event as the Coronation, lifting us, as it does, from our ordinary surroundings into the higher atmosphere of Christian patriotism and unity of spirit in Christ our Lord.

In the hope that this invitation may be acceptable to your people, I am yours sincerely,
J. HEREFORD.

Notice of the service was thus given at the beginning of May. At that time the Convocation of Canterbury was on the point of meeting. On May 4, at the opening of the Session of the Upper House, the Bishop of Winchester called attention to the matter. In the course of his speech, after

deprecating any idea of carrying a resolution or holding a prolonged debate on the matter, he said :

I thought it would be well if some one, speaking for the opinion of his brethren here, speaking as he believed in a representative character for the Episcopate, expressed his conviction that this action of the Bishop of Hereford's was a contravention of sacred principles with which we have no right to interfere, was unconstitutional in the deepest sense of the word—I am not talking of the British constitution but of the constitution of the Church—and was calculated to divide Christian men and women much more than to unite them.

He went on to point out that the Lambeth Conference, in advocating closer relations with Nonconformists, had not advocated any action of the kind in question, and concluded with these words :

All I would venture to say is that I believe I speak for a general feeling here as well as for an enormously diffused feeling outside—the Bishop of Hereford here interposed with the words : “ clerical, not lay feeling ”)—clerical and lay, outside, that this action of his is not according to our principles, is beautiful in its motive but unhappy in its effect, and not only is it unconstitutional, giving away more than we have any right to give away, but it divides, and will divide, more than it unites, and leads straight to consequences which, perhaps, the Bishop of Hereford may not have altogether forecast, which probably none of us can altogether forecast. Therefore, I think I must publicly dissociate myself from his action, and others who agree with the general effect of what I have said may, perhaps, be silent, since I have voiced them.

The Bishop of Hereford, after referring with appreciation to the courtesy with which the Bishop of Winchester had handled the matter, said :

What I have to say can be summed up in one sentence, that, as I am not conscious of having done wrong, I have nothing to withdraw—nothing to regret in the matter. Any one reading my letter to my people in my diocese will, I think, see that, in the first place, I based my action on a very considerable number of authorities among our archbishops and bishops. Moreover, by “ authorities ” I mean not only persons of high position, but

persons whose views would be respected and probably accepted by every one of your lordships. For the rest, I felt that I was simply, on a very unique occasion in our national life, and a very appropriate occasion as it seems to me, in a very natural way, and with a very slight amount of initiative, giving practical effect to the general exhortations, if I may venture to use the term, which are to be found in the Encyclical Letter of the last Lambeth Conference, and not only of that, but of at least one previous Conference. I have the feeling that unless, as reasonable opportunity arises, we do, under a sense of our own individual responsibility, take some practical steps to give effect to these general declarations or exhortations that come from great national assemblies, we reduce them to the level of pious aspirations; and if we go on in that way, time after time, and generation after generation, it seems to me the result, certainly on the general mind, is a certain sense of unreality about these things. The Bishop of Winchester spoke of my having contravened some principle. I am not conscious of having contravened any principle that ought to be regarded. In my letter, as I have already indicated, I referred to certain authorities as being virtually, if not explicitly, of opinion—and most of them have probably expressed that opinion in their own practice—that those whom we have been in the habit of calling our orthodox Nonconformist neighbours should not be rejected if they offer themselves as communicants at the Holy Table of the Lord. I have gone beyond those authorities merely in practically declaring to the Nonconformists of my city and diocese that if they come, they will not only be not rejected, but will be welcomed in what I believe to be the true spirit of Christian brotherhood. Remembering as we do the familiar language of Scripture, I do not see how any of us can really in his heart feel that any fundamental Christian principle is being contravened by our kneeling together at the Table with those who believe in the same God and accept the same creed. If my action should cause serious pain, I am profoundly sorry, but with all of us it must happen that, in the course of our lives, we are obliged to make up our minds between causing pain to some who may not share our views, and being untrue to what we believe to be the course of Christian duty. We were all made familiar in our early days with the very useful expression, “*Amicus Plato; major amicus veritas,*” and it is on that principle that I have ventured to do this, knowing that it would give pain to some extent to some of my clerical and other friends; but I base myself on the fact that, as I have ventured to say in my letter, we are living in a transitional time as regards many forms of

knowledge, and not least as regards our knowledge of our own Christian faith and its history, and, living at such a time, it is impossible to follow in the footsteps of broadening knowledge without causing some pain to those brought up in narrower views. Fully as I appreciate the spirit in which the Bishop has expressed himself, I venture to think that he speaks not in the position of a representative of the great body of our Reformed and Protestant English Church, but as the representative of what I may call the sacerdotal party in it. From them we differ widely in regard to the fundamental principle which should guide us in this matter. My principle, as I have already said, is this: There is no reason why good Christian people, who believe in the same Lord and accept the same creed, should not kneel with us at the same Holy Table. I have had the feeling again and again that it takes off from the sincerity of our professions of friendly relationship and our desire for unity, if we refuse to take steps in this direction. I go even a little further. Within the last month or two I attended the funeral of a friend of mine, and in the course of half a century of intimate relations I was brought to the conviction that he more truly represented the Christian character in our English life than other men whom I have knowledge of; and I feel that it would surely be a contradiction of the very fundamentals of our faith and hope if we are not to freely join in our most solemn worship with men of that type because they happen to be divided from us on what are now proved to be minor or secondary considerations. . . . As for the suggestion that I am hampering rather than helping forward the spirit of unity, I think we bishops are too much inclined to fear that any individual action which is progressive may be likely to rouse opposition among those who are bound fast in the bonds of ecclesiastical tradition. I have the confident hope that, whatever momentary controversy my action may give rise to, the ultimate result will be that in a degree—I do not claim for it any merit, because I do not think it a great act, but a very natural one at such a time—it will tend, as the motive which dominated me in writing my letter led me to conclude, to godly union and concord throughout our national life.

The discussion was closed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who alluded to the long and rather tangled history of the question of principle. He agreed with the Bishop of Winchester regarding the expediency of making it clear that what was proposed at Hereford was not in accordance with the resolutions of the Lambeth Conference, though he could

not have used all the expressions employed by the Bishop of Winchester. He concluded by saying :

I feel that what has been said, whether or not we agree with every particular word—which the Bishop of Winchester did not expect or invite us to do—dissociates the Episcopate from being involved in responsibility for the Bishop of Hereford's action ; and I know that the Bishop of Hereford himself does not in the least intend so to involve us. The words spoken must have made that clear both to the realm and to the Church. I think the two speeches delivered this morning are speeches worthy of the best traditions of this House, worthy—and I can give no higher praise—of the two men who uttered them.

On May 5, the Bishop wrote to Canon Bannister :

As you will have seen in to-day's papers the hot water has boiled over, and Convocation has acted *more suo*. The Bishop of Winchester, whether of his own motion or not, I don't know, solemnly arraigned me, professing to do so in the name of the Church, so that I was obliged to say that he represented not the Church but the sacerdotal party in it.

The Bishop of Winchester found he had rather a hard task to reconcile what he and his friends call their intense desire for Christian union with their refusal to do anything or countenance any effective steps to bring it nearer.

It was inevitable that the Bishop's action should involve him in a maelstrom of controversy. He received a multitude of letters from sympathisers all over the country. Canon Barnett wrote from Hampstead :

I want to say thank you for your action as to the Common Communion. Perhaps one of the greatest needs of the day is bravery, and if only more people would dare they would be surprised to find the many on their side. Your action will, I expect, show that many, many more are hurt by a policy of exclusiveness than by one of generosity.

Miss Arnold's letter from Fox How must have been particularly welcome :

You have had the courage to bring to a practical test the reality of the many vague aspirations after unity and Christian

fellowship of which we have heard so much but which hitherto have been little but words. It is mournful indeed that such an opportunity should be met by opposition and discouragement.

I believe my dear father would most surely have been with you in this effort to promote a true "Christian Communion," and it is this conviction that makes me venture to write to you. You will have earned and will have received the gratitude of many who long for a wider and more practical recognition of what they believe to constitute the true bond of Christian unity—the fellowship with all those "who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity."

A characteristic letter came from Mr. J. L. Paton, High Master of Manchester Grammar School, a son of Dr. Percival's old friend, and a former member of his staff at Rugby :

MY DEAR BISHOP—I can't help writing to you. I see they have been attacking you for asking "schismatics" to join in the Supper of the Lamb, and I want to say to you how much it has been to me that you allowed me to join in the Communion at Rugby. Ever since the unity which is in Christ has been more real to me, the things which separate have seemed smaller. I don't know anything about Canons of 1603, but I do know that the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace is the will of the Master, and they who help towards it are of His Spirit.

They said things like this about Stanley, and they will say the same of any one who feels that the Church is national. One can only pray for them as Tyndale prayed for King Hal : "Lord, open the eyes of the King of England."

With all best regard to Mrs. Percival and yourself.—Yours loyally,

J. L. PATON.

7. V. II.

One other letter of sympathy and approval may well be quoted in full ; it is from Mr. J. St. Loe Strachey, the editor of the *Spectator* :

I feel I must write a line to tell you how admirable I thought your letter to your diocese in regard to the Communion for Non-conformists. I am of course writing on it in the *Spectator* to back you up strongly, and hope to be able to get what I have written into this week's *Spectator*. As I daresay you know, I went very closely into the history of the thing, and have

mentioned, what no doubt you did not refer to for fear of raising more controversy, the case of the Revisers' Communion held in Westminster Abbey under Stanley. It was this Communion Service that one of the extreme clerical papers of the day described as "casting pearls before swine"! I am glad to think that we have moved a little since then, for I do not think that even a clerical newspaper could now use language so atrocious. I have also mentioned as a precedent the fact that the Prince Consort and other Royal Princes and Princesses who have had non-Episcopal confirmation have always received the Communion without confirmation in our Church. Queen Alexandra is, of course, another case in point. I have also noted the recommendation by the Ritual Commission of 1870, with only one dissentient, of a rubric: "But note, the foregoing directions are not to be held to authorise the refusal of the Holy Communion to those who humbly and devoutly desire to partake thereof." I feel convinced that the object of the Bishops in Charles II.'s time was but to prevent young children from receiving the Communion. Therefore they insisted that anybody who was ready and willing to be confirmed, *i.e.*, of a confirmable age and temper of mind, should receive the Communion. If they had meant anything else, why not have kept the old rubric as it stood? Besides, as is well known, they were making a concession to the demands of the Nonconformists and specifically said that they believed the concession to be wide enough.

I am, of course, immensely pleased by your splendid straight speaking about the subject of Episcopacy. Nothing has been more injurious to the Church than this recent attempt to exalt Episcopacy into an absolute test, and to un-Church all those who do not make it a matter of idolatry. There is nothing more lamentable than the way in which people seem to love grounds for exclusion rather than for inclusion, and yet inclusion as against the exclusion of the Pharisees is the essence of our Lord's teaching.

Please excuse my worrying you with this letter, which I fear, written at a moment of great pressure, is not very coherent. My gratitude for your fine letter must be my excuse.

Professor Gwatkin, who journeyed from Cambridge on purpose to take part in the service, writing at this time to Canon Bannister on another matter, added:

What a row my Lord of Hereford has made. It is no doubt very damnable: but as a matter of fact I believe "the plain meaning" of the rubric never occurred to any one till the bigots

invented it fifteen or twenty years ago. Surely it is governed by the general statement that in all these our doings, we ordain nothing but for our own people only. But the whole disturbance is an appeal of the Pharisees to the superstition of the English, that if you take account of anything outside the literal wording of a statement, you are "not dealing honestly with it." That appeal is a large part of their tactics.

It was not to be expected, however, that there would be no expression of adverse opinion. Naturally this did not take the form of letters addressed to the Bishop, but consisted either of expression in the Press of the dismay which he had created, or of formal remonstrance. Such a remonstrance was presented to the Dean of Hereford at a meeting of the General Chapter on June 26 :

To the Hon. and Very Rev. the Dean of Hereford

We whose names are undersigned have learned with great regret that you have given your cordial support to an indiscriminate invitation to persons unconfirmed and possibly even unbaptized to Communicate in the Cathedral; and as members of the Cathedral body, we desire to dissociate ourselves from any participation in this action.

This was signed by the Precentor, the Archdeacon of Ludlow, the Archdeacon of Hereford, one of the Residentiary Canons and sixteen Prebendaries. It had been intended that this document should be private, and some of the signatories, including the Archdeacon of Hereford, had only given their names on this understanding. But it somehow reached the Church Press, together with the names of the signatories.

The Dean, on receipt of the protest, said that when he gave his consent he had not realised the nature of the service. It is clear from the correspondence which ensued, that there had been a genuine misunderstanding or lapse of memory in some quarter.

Despite the remonstrance the service took place as announced. During its course the Bishop preached on 1 Corinthians, xiii. 13, and said :

The Coronation season, as I have already ventured publicly

to indicate, with its glow of united feeling and its hopes for the new reign of the King and Queen whom we honour and for whom we pray, appeals to us as pre-eminently an occasion on which believers in Christ should put aside those minor differences that separate them on ordinary days and gather round His Holy Table in that spirit of Christian brotherhood and charity which is the bond of peace and of all virtues, and the hope of all religious progress ; and it is in this spirit that we are here for our united sacrifice and service of praise and thanksgiving.

But my action in giving you the opportunity of thus marking a memorable occasion by appropriate worship has been so challenged and criticised that it has become due to you, as to myself, that I should briefly justify it.

By some of my fellow churchmen, imperfectly or wrongly instructed in the history of our Reformed Church, the rubric which stands in our Confirmation Service is quoted against me, and I am accused of disregarding the law of the Church.

But such objectors seem to have forgotten, or they do not know, that this rubric has been interpreted by archbishops and bishops of highest authority to be a purely domestic rule of our Established Church, and I myself so understand it, a rule intended to secure that our children as they grow up to years of discretion should be adequately instructed and of devout purpose before they come to the service of Holy Communion.

Thus the rubric, rightly understood, has no direct or explicit reference to devout members of other Christian denominations, and consequently it contains no prohibition which I have disregarded.

Moreover, it should be noted for our encouragement that we are here this morning in full accord with the pre-Tractarian sentiment and usage of our Reformed Church, and our action, taken as it has been in the spirit of Christian fellow-citizenship and brotherhood, might fairly be termed a revival, too long delayed, of time-honoured relationships between our Established Church of England and members of other Protestant denominations, relationships of faith and charity in Christ, our common Lord.

To estimate the objections that have been made to this our service at their true value, we have to bear in mind that they come from a clerical party in our Church which is separatist and retrograde in character, opposed to the principles of the Reformation, and steeped in the exclusive and uncompromising spirit of the early Tractarians.

That spirit has created the atmosphere of their life and dominated their studies, and is to-day the chief obstacle in the way

of any really cordial intercommunion between members of our Church and our Christian brethren of other denominations.

Of these Episcopalian sacerdotalists it has to be borne in mind that their fundamental conception of our Lord's commission to His Church and of the early history of that Church, a conception which modern scholars since the rise of the Tractarian movement have shown to be a misconception, bars their progress to real brotherhood in Christ Jesus, making it imperative for them to refuse Communion to all Christians who are not professedly Episcopalian.

Good men of this type having failed as yet to learn that their exclusive theory of Apostolical Succession is built on a misunderstanding of the words and doctrine of Christ, and of the history of the early Church, are not unnaturally opposed to our larger and truer conception of Christian brotherhood.

The narrow separatist spirit in which they have been brought up, and their attitude of isolation from other Protestant Christian bodies may remind us afresh how, as in St. Paul's day, so again and again in one generation and another, blindness in part happens to Israel.

But now that the researches of dispassionate, truth-seeking historical scholars have shattered the intellectual foundations of the High Church sacerdotalist party in our Communion, their influence over thoughtful people has become precarious and is on the wane; and the more it wanes the better and the stronger becomes the hope that our unhappy ecclesiastical antagonisms and divisions will give place to the growing spirit of Christian brotherhood and goodwill.

And in our national progress towards this happier state of more charitable feeling amongst the different denominations of Christian people our united worship this morning may, I trust, have its place as a historical landmark of abiding value.

But whether this be so or not, it cannot fail to be of good service in our individual and in our common life, as helping to strengthen among all enlightened Christians the sense of unity in our one Lord, and the spirit of mutual goodwill; for not in vain do men gather, as we are gathered to-day, in this spirit, kneeling and praying together as humble members of that mystic communion in Christ our Saviour which is the blessed company of all faithful people.

So groweth and so abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity.

The remonstrance which had been presented made the

Bishop exceedingly angry. Writing to the Archdeacon of Hereford on July 12, he said :

I have looked at your protest, and it certainly does little credit either to its composer, whoever he was, or to the men who signed and presented it. Its tone is contemptuous, in an insolent way, to Nonconformist bodies, and offensive to the Bishop. . . . I am truly sorry that you should all have so far allowed your minds and feelings to be warped by ecclesiastical prejudice and party spirit.

The Archdeacon replied on July 15 :

With regard to the remonstrance, I regret its publication as much as you do. I signed it with the proviso that it should not be published. I cannot plead guilty to its wording. I signed it myself solely because I believed the action you had taken, on your own sole initiative, and without ascertaining whether you could carry your diocese, or even your own fellow bishops with you, was calculated to do very grave harm to the cause which you and I equally have at heart. I think that it has aroused more ill-feeling between churchmen and Nonconformists than anything that has occurred for many years, and that it has been a set-back to the cause of Home Reunion from which it will take a long time to recover. If you had taken your diocese more into your confidence before taking such an important step you would have discovered this before it was too late. But, unfortunately, you seem to have taken counsel only with a small number of men of your own way of thinking, and to have been quite unconscious of what was likely to be the effect of your action on the Church at large. . . . I have not the least doubt that in this particular matter I represent the vast majority of your clergy. There was not, I am told, one single member of the Chapter who expressed unreserved approval of the proposed service. . . . And I should like you to understand that every signature given was spontaneous and independent. No one, for instance, before signing knew that I had signed, or intended to sign, nor did he know who his fellow signatories were. This fact alone shows how widespread the feeling of distress was. And in spite of what you said in the service, we really are not "sacerdotalists" nor "intolerant," and some of us are not unduly ignorant. One of the most pathetic letters I received—and I received a good many—was from one of your most hard-working and respected "evangelical" clergy, lamenting the

mischievous mischief that was being done in his own parish, and the difficult position in which your action had placed him with his parishioners. So I hope you will not misunderstand us. We all of us recognise the kindliness of heart and the intense longing after closer fellowship between Christians which prompted what you did. We claim unreservedly to share those feelings. But we do think that you committed a grave error of judgment in the means you took to bring it about, and that you have confused people's minds upon very important matters in a way which will make our work in our own parishes a great deal harder than it was before. I have spoken freely in this letter, as I hope I shall always be able to do, while our present relations are maintained, but I trust that I have said nothing inconsistent with the deepest respect both for your person and your office.

The Bishop in replying said :

As to the publication of that protest, I accept of course what you say : no doubt you have just cause to complain of some one.

As regards the clergy, have I not lived among them sixteen years and become familiar with all the results of their seminarist training, and do you imagine that I did not know what to expect ? The fact is that you clergy expect the Bishop to subordinate his judgment to yours, whether you are right or wrong ; and in this case you have simply inherited the tradition of the Tractarians and have failed to learn what scholars have brought to our notice since the days of Newman and Keble.

Percival made no pretence to act as a " constitutional monarch," and the difficulties of working as one of his colleagues in the administration of the diocese must often have been acute. He knew his own mind and followed it. But here once more he did not really see how the minds of his opponents worked. He knew that they disagreed with him, but he did not see how completely their judgment on the particular question was inherent in their general position. Consequently his arguments left them untouched, and his impatience irritated them. Indeed it is hard to see what phrases in the remonstrance merit the terms, " contemptuous," " insolent," or " offensive." He had, as the last letter quoted makes clear, quite deliberately acted in a way which he knew would bring him into opposition to the clergy. He

judged the occasion adequate. But he had no right to object to their expressing their dissent. The expression of it was, to an onlooker, perfectly respectful and restrained. Only by some breach of confidence were his archdeacons presented to the public as opposing the bishop.

Outside the diocese, indeed, other forms of protest, less creditable to the spiritual sanity of their authors, may be illustrated by a notice which appeared in the porch of a church outside the Hereford diocese :

Communicants of St. George's please note

CELEBRATION OF REPARATION

For dishonour done to Our Lord and His Church,
especially in the Cathedral of Hereford.

On Tuesday, July 18th, at 6.30 and 7.15, the Holy Eucharist will be celebrated in this Church, with the especial object of making small amends to Our Blessed Lord, and a Litany of Reparation will be said immediately before the Blessing.

The Bishop took the opportunity for a formal defence of his action which was offered by his Fifth Visitation Charge in 1912. He began by alluding to the new impulse towards unity :

Owing to the new appreciation of the duty of social service and other causes, our time has seen a marked growth in the desire for religious unity, but owing mainly to the deflection of outlook caused by the Oxford movement, we have not sufficiently realised that this unity, to be practically effective and of beneficent influence in our common life, must be unity of spirit with our immediate neighbours, the various denominations of Christian people living at our doors and forming an integral part of the community to which we belong ; and it must be counted among the unhappy consequences of the Tractarian movement that it deflected the clerical mind from the thought of union with other Protestant bodies, which should be the aim of our Reformed Church. . . .

We were in communion with the other Protestant churches a hundred years ago, and had been so since the Reformation ; we are so no longer. To renew this, all that is wanted is a change

of opinion among the clergy. The laity are still generally in favour of religious fellowship with the Reformed churches. . . .

Holding, as I do, the belief expressed above, that our Church has come to the parting of the ways, and feeling that the unique occasion of the Coronation afforded an appropriate opportunity for contributing my humble quota of practical support to that growing spirit of union with our immediate neighbours, which I hold to be of vital importance to our Church and Nation, I invited the devout members of the various Christian denominations in and around Hereford to a joint Communion in our Cathedral.

From this invitation some of my clergy in their first alarm, when I was attacked by the leaders of their party, made haste to dissociate themselves; and considering the influences under which they had been trained and passed their lives, this was in no way surprising, but I venture to submit to you that, having regard to the higher interests of our Church and the greater call of Christian charity, their view of the matter was a short-sighted and mistaken view.

But in issuing that invitation I have to confess that I myself was under one mistake. I had in my mind the exhortation of the Anglican Bishops assembled at the Lambeth Conference, an exhortation thrice repeated, at intervals of ten years, to do all we can to encourage and strengthen the spirit of unity among all Christian people, and to aid in the healing of those divisions that separate different Christian denominations; and it seemed to me that there could be no real unity of spirit between Christians who were not prepared to kneel together at that Table of the Lord, where there is no distinction of Jew or Greek, of bond or free, and consequently there could be no real or vital meaning in those exhortations unless interpreted as I had interpreted them. So long as we bar the way to the Holy Table against those whom it may be we effusively call our brethren in Christ, our professions of brotherhood have in them the taint of unreality and they are insincere.

My mistake lay in my belief that my Episcopal brethren who framed and issued these appeals would look upon my action as the natural response to them.

I did not sufficiently remember that even Lambeth resolutions and appeals for unity might be so limited by many considerations in the minds of those who sent them forth as to be, in fact, little more than pious opinions or aspirations which they hardly hoped to see translated into concrete acts of friendly intercommunion.

And it certainly did not occur to me as possible that any one of the two hundred bishops taking part in the Lambeth

Conference could join in issuing its appeal to all churchmen, and himself go from the Conference to the great gathering of all Protestant denominations for their World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh, there joining these various bodies in their business and in worship, and not only greeting them effusively as Christian brethren, but making himself in some degree responsible for their missionary work, whether Wesleyan, Baptist, or Congregational, and having done all this, could turn round and attack me in our Canterbury Convocation for an act of Christian goodwill, which was simply a common-sense application of the Lambeth resolutions to the actual facts and conditions of our English life.

The whole incident should be remembered as an instructive object lesson, showing us into what inconsistencies and insincerities a neo-Tractarian churchman may unconsciously drift, his kindly disposition and his desire for friendly relationships and co-operation and influence drawing him in one direction, whilst his ecclesiastical presuppositions and prejudices, his party ties and party obligations draw him no less strongly in the other.

But not by such a policy will our Church maintain her influence and power over the mind of the nation, or foster amongst us the true spirit of Christian brotherhood.

My expectation and hope is that, entering as we are on a period of clearer knowledge of early Christian history, and a clearer understanding of the spirit of our blessed Lord, our Church may gratefully retain and cherish all that is best in the Tractarian movement, while emancipating herself from the sacerdotal and separatist elements of that movement, which are so alien to the true spirit of our Christian faith and must inevitably denationalise her if persistently maintained; and I trust that, as a practical step towards union of spirit among Christians of different denominations, and the happier relationships which this spirit produces in our common life, it may become in some degree customary for our clergy on appropriate occasions to invite their neighbours who have the status of communicants in their own denomination to join in our service of Holy Communion in the church of their parish.

No doubt the Bishop realised that his action would lead to invitations to go further; and it did. In the following letter to Canon Bannister written on August 28, 1912, he gives his answer to a suggestion from local Nonconformists that some leading churchmen should join in their Communion Service, and so, as one of them put it, "return our

visit." He plainly sympathises in principle, but on grounds of expediency decides against it; at the same time he discloses his view of simultaneous efforts towards closer relations with the Orthodox Church of the East :

I think the Nonconformists do not quite realise the difficulties, and expect rather more than can be given all at once.

In old days our bishops and clergy communicated freely with continental Protestants, but the present generation of Church people under Tractarian influences have been imbued with a very different spirit. If a fairly influential body of clergy could be got publicly and jointly to declare their readiness to communicate with non-Episcopalian Christians, that might perhaps be the best thing to secure as a first step.

The visits to Moscow, probably engineered by politicians and financiers, are not altogether creditable to our church authorities.

I wonder what would be the best way of moving in the matter of intercommunion.

The whole episode is very illustrative of the position in which the Church of England then habitually found itself with regard to Reunion. A convinced believer in one method of approach announces his intention of following that method on one occasion. A storm arises. A wise representative of opposed convictions makes a formal speech dissociating himself from the proposed action, but expressing deep sympathy with the aim, and refraining from the proposal of any condemnatory resolution. Had the Bishop of Winchester delivered a fierce attack, a general conflagration must have ensued; it is plain that he took up the matter in Convocation precisely in order to prevent the opposition from uttering itself through some less conciliatory spokesman. In the result the episode occurred and was soon forgotten. Such unity as there was before in the Church of England continued unimpaired, but also, of course, undeeptened. The cause of Reunion with separated bodies also remained exactly where it was. The protagonist was thanked by those who agreed with him and censured by those who disagreed; and each group maintained its former opinions.

We have every ground for hoping that the action of the

Lambeth Conference of 1920 will prove to have opened a door through which we may pass to a new state of things. If that is so, the credit will, in great measure, be due to those who in various ways, according to their several convictions, kept the subject vividly before the Church in the days when no plan for common action had been reached. We look back from the vantage ground won by the noble appeal of the bishops at Lambeth in 1920 to a time of fierce debate when no progress seemed to be made.

If we have now a hope, then undreamt of, that all may work together for the full realisation of One Holy Catholic Church, we are also bound to recognise that all those who have cared and struggled in the cause have helped to bring us to that hope.

CHAPTER XIV

APPOINTMENTS

No part of Percival's Episcopal action has been so strongly criticised as his appointments to canonries and other positions in the diocese. Those who opposed his general policy exploited to the utmost his conduct in this matter. As Prebendary Wynne Willson puts it: "Whenever he appointed a Liberal, public notice was taken; other cases passed without remark."

The first criticism on this score was due to his attempt in 1896 to appoint to a canonry, Mr. Alexander. As has already been narrated, it was found that Mr. Alexander was technically disqualified on legal grounds, and the Bishop collated to the vacant stall Canon Williams, who was perhaps the most prominent High Churchman in the diocese. But Mr. Alexander's name had been publicly mentioned, and at once there were voices raised in protest. The ground of objection was that Mr. Alexander was being brought in from outside the diocese, and that the clergy of the diocese had a grievance on that account. It appears, however, that this was not felt very widely within the diocese. There it was recognised that a young man would be able to do especially valuable work, and that to choose a young man within the diocese would constitute an even graver slight to the senior men than the importation of one from outside. Anyhow the actual result was the appointment of a priest already well known in the diocese and a strong High Churchman.

A series of appointments followed, causing no vexation or protest. The appointment of Canon Bannister in 1909

raised no outcry, but a sentence from the letter in which the offer was made may be quoted :

I should like him (*i.e.* the new Canon) to be ready to give me his aid in any diocesan matters in which I might need it—now that I am to spend the little remainder of my working days in Hereford—a sort of Barzillai the Gileadite ; I may want to do some things from time to time for which I shall need efficient help.

Certainly the Bishop received what he hoped for. Canon Bannister was unfailing, throughout the later years of Percival's episcopate, in ardent support, helpful advice and ungrudging labour.

Towards the close of 1909 another vacancy occurred and was filled by the appointment of Dr. Rashdall, now Dean of Carlisle. The Bishop's hope was that when his Hostel was opened, Dr. Rashdall would take a large share in the control of it.

The real tumult only began in 1911. In July that year Canon Williams died. It was a time of great stress and anxiety, because of the United Communion Service which took place in June that year. On July 21 the Bishop wrote to Canon Bannister :

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
July 21, 1911.

DEAR CANON—You will have heard that our dear friend Williams passed away this morning.

I wish I knew where to look for a good successor. I feel I must, if possible, find a good Liberal who will give me loyal support, and a man of distinction so as to stop the mouths of gainsayers.

Could you make private inquiries as to good men who might be available ?

Rashdall and Gwatkin might have some names to suggest, and you may know other ways of hearing about suitable men.—
Yours sincerely,

J. HEREFORD.

The result was that Mr. Lilley, now Archdeacon of Ludlow, was appointed—certainly a Liberal, and certainly distinguished. But the mouths of the gainsayers were not stopped.

A considerable correspondence took place in the Church Press and in the local papers. The main points appear in the two letters here reproduced from the *Hereford Times*. It should be mentioned that the diocese of Hereford had long previously been dubbed "the Dead See":

To the Editor of the "Hereford Times"

SIR—If what "An Inquirer" says in your issue of last week is correct, may we not trace in the appointments of the residentiary canons, one source of friction between the Bishop and his clergy?

It is generally understood that the appointment to the canonries was given to the Bishop of Hereford to make up for the appointment to incumbencies taken away from the See of Hereford and given to the See of Worcester. I write under correction as I can only say what is generally understood, and also point to appointments that were made in the memory of people now living and before the present occupancy of the See, but if this is correct, and no doubt this is the idea of the majority of the clergy, they cannot but look upon the appointments recently made as being, to say the least, "hardly correct."

Further, that with whatever party they as individuals may be classed—high, broad, or low—by their friends they would all as a body prefer to see amongst the canons residentiary one at least to whom those who favour those leanings may turn for help and guidance. This view, so rumour goes, was put before the Bishop quite recently by one of the present body before the recent appointment was made.

Some of us remember the speeches and the happy looking-forward when the Bishop came; all were ready to join, there was no question of politics—politics which has been the curse of the Nonconformists in Wales. The Church was said to be asleep in the diocese of Hereford and we looked forward to a guidance and leadership, a great march forward, and what do we find? The laity alienated, and the clergy out of touch with one who might have been a great power in the diocese. A veritable dead See indeed.

A VICAR.

HEREFORDSHIRE, December 9, 1911.

To the Editor of the "Hereford Times"

SIR—Your correspondent "Vicar," with a sort of perverted local patriotism, and some redundancy, seems to take a pride in

calling his own diocese "a veritable dead See indeed." For myself, I do not feel competent either to justify or to disprove this grave accusation against the clergy and laity of Herefordshire and part of Shropshire. But assuming, strictly without prejudice, that "Vicar's" charge is true, I seem to remember that it was first alleged against the diocese of Hereford some years before Dr. Percival began his magnificent, but, according to "Vicar," entirely fruitless, attempts at resuscitation—attempts which have attracted the attention of the world outside, and only last summer won for him enthusiastic praise from such critics as the editors of *The Times* and the *Spectator*.

What seems most keenly to have annoyed "Vicar" is the Bishop's appointments to canonries. Like many other vicars, your correspondent dutifully follows his *Church Times* in giving "under correction" a fantastic suggestion that the Bishop is bound to choose the canons from the clergy of the diocese. Dr. Percival, one may readily admit, has not acted on "Vicar's" idea that canonries should supply old-age pensions to worn-out incumbents from the diocese. Yet the Bishop did consider the diocesan incumbents in making his choice. He has during his episcopate appointed six clergymen to canonries. Of these, three were from his own diocese—hard-working incumbents, who had served eighteen, twenty-two and ten years respectively in their parishes. For the other three vacancies he chose men of brilliant reputation, whose names, unknown, as "Vicar" would probably think, to the "dead See," are familiar to scholars throughout Europe. I may say, not "under correction," but on trustworthy authority, that, in the case of two of these canons from outside the diocese the Bishop had never in his life spoken to them. They were appointed, after long and careful consideration of the needs and requirements of the diocese, solely on the evidence of their published writings and their distinguished record—in the hope, perhaps, that they might help to vivify "Vicar's" "dead See."

In thus choosing from outside some of the canons he has appointed, Bishop Percival has done what other bishops do—and very much what his predecessor did, who, out of six canons appointed by him, chose two from outside the diocese. Bishop Lightfoot again, during his episcopate at Durham, only appointed two canons, one came from the diocese of York, and the other, Canon Body, from the diocese of Canterbury. And there was no protest, which makes one wonder whether it is really the selection from outside that rankles, or whether the grievance is that the new canons are Broad Churchmen. Well, indeed, would it be for the Church of England if every bishop had as clean a record in the exercise of his patronage as the present Bishop of Hereford.

It is frequently asserted, even in print, that Bishop Percival promotes only "men of his own way of thinking," that, as one of your correspondents elegantly phrased it some time ago, "no High Churchman need apply." Though one is naturally reluctant to mention names, yet a slander expressed in general terms can only be refuted by quoting particular instances. Omitting the canons residentiary of Bishop Percival's creation (two of whom, it will be remembered, were Canons Williams and Oldham) the following is the complete list of the present bishop's appointments taken from the Diocesan Calendar: The two archdeacons, twelve of the prebendaries, the incumbents of the following twenty-five benefices in the Bishop's gift; Bosbury, Brampton Abbots, Breinton, Bridstow, Brimfield, Brinsop, Bullinghope, Clehonger, Coddington, Colwall, Eaton Bishop, Hampton Bishop, Hereford (Holy Trinity), Holdgate, Kimbolton, Ledbury, Lingen, Little Marcle, Ross, Stanford Bishop, Thruxton, Tupsley, Wellington, Whitbourne and Withington. I confidently challenge any one who knows the present holders of the above preferments to say how many of them are markedly "of the Bishop's own way of thinking." The two archdeacons, at any rate, and seven of the above-mentioned twelve prebendaries signed, if we may trust the *Church Times*, the protest against the Bishop's action in the matter of the Coronation Communion.

"Clergymen," says the great Lord Clarendon (who, if I remember right, was no malignant Puritan), "understand the least, and take the worst measure of human affairs of all mankind that can read and write." Without committing myself to any approval of this sweeping assertion, I do strongly suspect that, so far as "Vicar" and his like are concerned, the very head and front of the Bishop of Hereford's offending hath only such extent as is revealed in the following little anecdote—a true one. "What I admire in the Bishop of Hereford," said a layman to a vicar, "is this—that he thinks more of righteousness than of points of dogma." "Yes," reluctantly agreed the cleric, "but he carries it too far. He puts personal religion above the Church."

A LAYMAN WHO ADMIRES THE BISHOP OF HEREFORD.

MIDDLE TEMPLE, LONDON,
December 19, 1911.

The second of the two letters just quoted gives accurately the facts up to date. But two more appointments were to follow, calculated to create an even greater disturbance. The first, however, was parochial only, and therefore the

disturbance, though very great, did not spread beyond the diocese.

At the beginning of 1914 the Bishop appointed to the living of Bromyard a priest, the Rev. F. E. Powell, who had published a book containing a reference to the difficulties felt by scholars with regard to the Virgin Birth and Bodily Resurrection of our Lord. A petition was signed by a number of the parishioners asking the Bishop to reconsider the matter. Mr. Powell wrote to the Bishop saying :

This petition I readily acknowledge the parishioners have a perfect right to make, and since, as one of the three founders of the Church Reform League in 1895, I have long advocated the claims of a congregation to a considerable voice in the selection of their clergyman, I make no complaint. And this being so, the feeling indicated in the petition, *in so far as it is not engineered from without, but the genuine expression of those parishioners who have read and understood the extracts from my book*, is one which I desire, nay, am bound to respect. If, therefore, this feeling be that of the leading and influential churchmen of Bromyard (and as to this I have at present no knowledge) may I be allowed to withdraw my acceptance of an offer which, coming unsought and quite unexpectedly from your lordship, I have regarded as an honour and a token of your kind confidence in me ?

The Bishop refused to reopen the question and the petitioners appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Archbishop saw no sufficient grounds for his interference, and Mr. Powell was instituted. The Archdeacon of Hereford asked to be excused from inducting the new Vicar, and the Bishop inducted him himself. He took the opportunity of replying to the petition which he had received, saying that he had examined the passages in Mr. Powell's book of which complaint had been made, and did not find them such as ought to preclude a man from serving the Church as a minister. He appealed strongly for support for the new Vicar in his work.

At about this time a petition had been presented to Convocation, signed by 676 priests in the London diocese. This petition had expressed grave anxiety "in consequence of the unrebuked denial of certain fundamental truths of the

Faith by some who hold office in the Church." Consideration of the petition was deferred, and now a similar petition was being circulated in the Hereford diocese. The Bishop supposed that this was the work of outsiders, but it was not so. As he wrote to the Archdeacon of Hereford :

As regards the memorial I assumed that it was due to outside effort, because, notwithstanding some previous experience, I thought that my own clergy would have felt it to be disloyal to work at a thing of this kind behind my back without saying one word to me on the subject.

The Bishop then circulated the following letter to the clergy of the diocese :

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
March 23, 1914.

MY DEAR BROTHER—I am told that a memorial, signed by a number of London clergy, and presented by the Bishop of London to Convocation at its last session, is now being circulated among our clergy in this diocese with requests for signature.

Who are responsible for this circulation I do not know, but I presume they must be outsiders, and I feel it my duty to express the hope that you will adopt the wiser course of declining to take any part in such a movement.

All experience shows that memorials or protests of this kind are quite ineffective and do harm rather than good to the cause they advocate.

Signed as they generally are by many who cannot claim to speak with the authority of trained students or scholars, and substituting protest for reasoned argument they carry no conviction to the minds of those whose views they condemn, and they give rise to a good deal of unedifying discussion among unthinking people.

Many years ago I was impressed by some instructive words of a distinguished man of letters. When young, he said, I was made to read on Sundays a Bible Commentary, which set forth all the mistaken heterodox interpretations of important passages, followed by a refutation of those interpretations, but the result of my reading was that I remembered the heterodox opinions and forgot the refutations.

Just so by their memorials and their protests men sometimes give currency and strength to views which they consider objectionable and wish to destroy.

This particular memorial deals in part with the mystery of our Saviour's birth and resurrection, subjects which should be dealt with in all humility by means of thoughtful and reverent arguments, if our Christian faith is to retain its living reality and its influence on the lives of educated men.

But this memorial also asserts that Episcopacy is essential to a church, and that without Episcopacy there can be no valid ministry of the Word and Sacraments.

I suppose that all faithful members of our Church believe that experience has abundantly shown Episcopacy to be the best form of church government, and we gratefully recognise and cling to all the benefits we derive from it ; but every one who signs this memorial also stands committed to the assertion that no Presbyterian or other non-Episcopal Church in Christendom has a valid ministry of the Word and Sacraments.

Now to any one who has really studied the New Testament or followed the history of the early Church, or who dispassionately considers the Christian experience of all ages, this is a stupendous assertion which cannot be justified, and if our clergy commit themselves to it the inevitable effect must be that they will lose the confidence and respect of the educated and thoughtful lay members of the Church, and will render impossible that charitable union of all Christian people which we all alike desire to see.—Believe me, Yours sincerely,

J. HEREFORD.

During the following winter Canon Capes died. It was a great personal sorrow to the Bishop, for the two had been friends since the old days at Queen's College, Oxford. On November 3, 1914, he wrote to the Rev. L. J. Percival : " We feel the loss of Canon Capes acutely. He was invaluable to the Chapter, and his death is to me the breaking of very old ties. And I have the disagreeable duty of finding a successor." His choice fell on the Rev. B. H. Streeter, Fellow and Dean of Queen's College, Oxford, and already distinguished as a theologian. He had written essays of great value in the volume edited by Dr. Sanday under the title *Studies in the Synoptic Problem* ; he had been editor of the volume called *Foundations* ; and he had published a stimulating little book, *Restatement and Reunion*. The letter in which the Bishop made the offer of the canonry is as follows :

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
Dec. 1914.

DEAR MR. STREETER—You have probably seen that we have lost Canon Capes, and this loss, which is to me and to the Cathedral a very grave one, lays on me the duty of finding a successor as Canon Residentiary.

And it will be a special satisfaction to me if the connection with the College of my early days can be continued.

This, however, is a minor consideration, and not at all my chief reason for troubling you with this letter.

A short time ago I was expecting Capes to resign at Christmas, and had a little talk with Armstrong and the Provost and also with Professor Sanday ; and from all of them I came away with my feeling strengthened that I should like to have you here as Capes's successor.

I know, of course, that if you come, I shall be criticised in certain ecclesiastical quarters, but that is of little moment ; and I am thinking of the good you would do to the tone of our clergy and to our religious life.

If the prospect attracts you, I should like to know whether you could give us the amount of residence that would be necessary. Canon Rashdall steps into the actual vacancy, so that the canonry I have to offer is that now held by Rashdall. He tells me that it has never in recent years been of less value than £450 and the house, and sometimes it rises to £500.

The minimum official residence is three months, the exact months being arranged by the canons amongst themselves, the senior having prior right of choice.

But I feel that the canon to be appointed could hardly do what is required for the good of the diocese unless he were with us for a somewhat longer portion of each year, so as not only to take his statutable share of the Cathedral services, but also to contribute an influence to the diocesan life outside the Cathedral, as, for instance, by preaching for clergy and giving occasional lectures in different parts when desired.

What occurs to me is that if you were canon, and could give occasional lectures up and down the diocese on such subjects as those discussed in your *Restatement and Reunion* you would thus help to imbue our clergy with the spirit of that book, and so would do a great service to our Church.

But this would mean giving us altogether at least four months in the course of each year.

Would this be compatible with the work you may wish to keep up in Oxford, or with any other plans you may have in your mind ?

I have mentioned the three men in Oxford to whom I have spoken on the subject, in case you may wish to talk over my offer with any of these, should you think it deserving of consideration.

I shall be very thankful if this is so, as I feel sure your help would be of great value in the life of the diocese, and we greatly need it.—Believe me, Yours sincerely,

J. HEREFORD.

After some correspondence, Mr. Streeter accepted the appointment on the understanding that not more than three months of residence should be required in each year.

As the Bishop had foreseen, there was a great commotion. One leading clergyman of the diocese circulated a letter in which he was fiercely attacked. He discussed this letter with the Archdeacon of Hereford, and a correspondence ensued between the Bishop and the Archdeacon in which the following passages occur. It should be mentioned that the Archdeacon had already frankly told the Bishop that he was alienating the great bulk of the clergy and very many of the laity of the diocese by his policy :

BRIDSTOW VICARAGE, ROSS,
Feb. 25, 1915.

MY DEAR LORD— . . . I quite agree with you, after reading through the letter, that it is in the worst taste possible, and if I see the writer I shall not scruple to tell him so. But at the same time I must be perfectly honest with you, and say that, while I very much regret a great deal that has been said and done, I cannot but share the dismay in the minds of both clergy and laity throughout the diocese, at what seems to them the mistaken policy which you have recently pursued in making your appointments. The fact that one of your rural deans and one of your leading laymen should have taken the unusual course of criticising their bishop in the public Press over their own signatures, shows how very strong the feeling is. And though, as your Archdeacon, I always try when the matter is mentioned, to put forward what I understand (from the Press) to be your motives, and am always ready to defend the integrity of your intentions, I cannot pretend to be other than seriously alarmed at the effect both on the efficient working of the diocese, and, I regret to say, on the faith of many of our lay people. But in taking the line

that you have done, you cannot have had your eyes closed to these things, and therefore I can only conclude that you are conscientiously convinced that there are larger issues involved which outweigh in your mind such merely local considerations. I profoundly disagree, but I hope that I do not misinterpret you.—Yours very sincerely,

E. H. WINNINGTON INGRAM.

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
February 27, 1915.

DEAR ARCHDEACON—I have to thank you for your letter, and am glad you have read again the letter circulated in the diocese and that you now realise its objectionable and contemptible character.

You are good enough to say quite frankly that you profoundly differ from me as regards my recent exercise of patronage.

This does not surprise me, knowing how intimately you are associated with the High Church party, and I have no complaint to make.

This difference may possibly hamper you in your legal discharge of your duty as my officer, and I am sorry that I should have felt obliged to lay on you the burden of this difficulty; but I know you will do your best to impress on the section of clergy who are dissatisfied that the Bishop has been guided solely and entirely by what he conscientiously believes to be his duty to the National Church of which he is a responsible officer. It depends on you more than any one else whether the spirit of political and ecclesiastical bitterness and prejudice is to be exorcised or not.

I have a good defence for my action, but I will not trouble you with it. My stalls were filled with High Churchmen during my first ten years, and I myself appointed the highest of them, and no one uttered a word of complaint. Now, when I have looked on for twenty years and seen Liberal Churchmen, however distinguished, relentlessly boycotted and passed over with depreciation and detraction almost everywhere, and have thought it necessary in the interest of the Church to do something to prevent this freezing out of Broad Churchmen and the narrowing of our National Church into a sect, there is raised this outcry—I might reasonably complain, but I know that human nature being what it is some men will use the occasion and some will be honestly alarmed; but I shall be justified in the long run.—Yours very truly,

J. HEREFORD.

BRIDSTOW VICARAGE, ROSS,
March 1, 1915.

MY DEAR LORD—Thank you for your open and generous letter, for I confess that when writing to you I felt rather like a Rugby boy daring to find fault with his headmaster! Your position is exactly what I supposed it to be, and I should not have written again, but that I think you rather mistake mine, and for the sake of mutual confidence, I should like to make mine clear. I really cannot plead guilty to any conscious identification with the "High Church party," unless you reckon Temple in his later years to have been a member of that party. . . . No, my difficulty does not arise from the "High Church" point of view. I do not even wish the Broad Churchmen to be "snowed under." I quite recognise that they should have their place in the Church of England, unless, and until, they arrive at the position of "denying" Articles of the Christian Faith. But I do very strongly feel that their place is in the intellectual centres, and not in a country diocese. We are a simple-minded people, who have no use for such a philosophical conception as a truth being true while the fact wherein God has enshrined the truth for eighteen centuries is false. . . . I am sure that you are making a mistake if you think that the opposition which has been aroused is wholly—or even mainly—due to a "spirit of political and ecclesiastical bitterness." It is in more cases than you suppose a real—if somewhat inarticulate—cry of distressful souls. And I do beseech you, if (as I suppose you must) you refer to the matter in your coming charge, to make generous allowance for this feeling, and not to assume that we are all bigoted partisans of some "movement" in a past generation. . . . I very seldom come across any one—certainly among the clergy—who does not speak of yourself personally with reverence and even affection. We all realise, I think, your true kindness of heart and your desire to do your duty, even if we cannot always agree with your mode of action.—Yours very sincerely,

E. H. WINNINGTON INGRAM.

There is obviously no need for an answer to this, but I was anxious to make clear to you my own position.

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
March 10, 1915.

MY DEAR ARCHDEACON—I ought to have thanked you for your letter of the 1st before this, but I have in fact had rather more to do day by day than I could get through.

There are several points in it on which I ought to say a word.

If I think of your associations and sympathies being with the High Church party, I hope you will forgive me ; I wish they were all like you.

As regards Broad Churchmen, the freezing out has gone on so long, and has been to such an extent almost universal, with the result that the cleavage between the best students—earnest, devout, truth-seeking men, such as Dr. Sanday—and the ordinary clerical opinion threatens to be disastrous, that at last after long waiting, I felt it my duty to do something to stop it. And as regards critical scholars like Streeter, it is not fair to talk of them as denying facts of Revelation.

What I think they would say is that a new and more correct understanding of the Bible record necessitates a restatement of the Creeds in accordance therewith. Till that restatement can be agreed upon some articles must be understood as in some degree symbolical. Indeed, you yourself, and Bishop Gore, and all the opponents of the Broad Church student, repeat some articles in this sense. The fact is that a time of transition like this makes heavy demands on the charity and the faith and patience of all thoughtful people.

. . . I am grateful for what you say as to personal references to myself. I have certainly endeavoured so to act as Bishop that I might say with Samuel : " The Lord is my witness that ye have not found ought in my hand," which could be described as a job.—Yours very sincerely,

J. HEREFORD.

The Bishop subsequently, on the preferment of Dr. Rashdall to the Deanery of Carlisle, appointed the Archdeacon to the vacant Canonry.

The appointment of Mr. Streeter to a canonry might be taken as a reply to the Bishop of Zanzibar's attack on *Foundations* in his pamphlet *Ecclesia Anglicana : What does she stand for ?* To that Bishop it seemed that Percival had betrayed the faith, and he proceeded solemnly and formally to excommunicate him in a document which sets forth at length the grounds for such action, and concludes as follows :

Therefore do We, Frank, Lord Bishop of Zanzibar, hereby declare and pronounce that, so long as the ground of our complaint set forth above remains, there can be, and from this day forward there is, no Communion in Sacred Things between

Ourselves and the Right Reverend John, Lord Bishop of Hereford, nor between Ourselves and any priest within his jurisdiction who shall make known his approval of the false doctrines now officially authorised within the Diocese of Hereford ; and We do further warn and charge all Our faithful people that, pending the meeting of Our Sacred Synod, they duly observe this Our Declaration and Sentence.

This document was published in the Church Press, as was Percival's reply :

I regret the pain it must have caused you to adopt the course you have felt it your duty to adopt. I freely acknowledge the excellence of your motives, and this leads me to regret all the more your lack of Christian sympathy, your apparent inability even to understand the position of those from whom you differ, and your misguided conception of your own position and of your duty. For one bishop to take upon himself to excommunicate another bishop on his own sole authority because of an alleged misuse of the patronage in his diocese is a proceeding which it is not easy to justify and which certainly does not tend to edification. And I must confess to some surprise that your natural modesty did not suggest to you that if public action was called for it should have been left to the proper authority. Hasty and ill-considered individual action such as yours could hardly be defended under any circumstances, and in this case you would have done well to bear in mind that Canon Streeter has not even been arraigned, much less condemned, before any ecclesiastical Court or Synod, and that he continues to hold a license to officiate from my brother bishop the Bishop of Oxford. Thus I may venture to say, as an old man to a younger, that although acting no doubt in all sincerity and from the highest motives, you have been led to take too much upon you.

Moreover, the books *Foundations* and *Restatement and Reunion* do not, as you suggest, contain any denial of " the historical facts stated in the Creeds," or of any " fundamental dogma," nor can they be shown to contravene either the letter or the spirit of the declaration recently issued by the Upper House of the Canterbury Convocation, to which you refer. Indeed, so far from meriting the strictures you pass on them, the books in question are, in the judgment of reasonable men, positive and constructive in aim and character, and embody a commendable endeavour to establish the fundamental beliefs of Christianity in the face of difficulties which are widely felt at the present time among educated churchmen, and which it would be disastrous to ignore.

I note your statement that you have been unable to take counsel with your Synod, and I can readily believe that the special difficulties and anxieties caused in your diocese by the war have prevented you from giving the subject such careful and serious attention as you would otherwise have given to it ; but I submit that such attention ought to have been given before rushing into public denunciation, and I anticipate that you yourself on further reflection will come to feel that your action has been precipitate and unwise. Of your earnestness in the work of the Mission field I desire to speak with all respect, and I pray that it may be rightly guided, trusting that in future you will abstain from rash and ill-considered denunciation of your fellow-churchmen and concentrate yourself entirely upon that work in happy and fruitful service of our common Lord. In this distressful time we ought surely to rise above our unhappy ecclesiastical divisions and pray for more of the spirit of unity in Christ and more brotherhood among men.

Percival's formal justification of the whole policy which he had adopted in his later years at Hereford was given in his sixth and last Visitation Charge, delivered in 1915 :

It is, I feel, due to you and also to myself, that I should refer briefly to certain criticisms that have been publicly made on some recent appointments to canonries in our Cathedral.

I thankfully recognise the immunity I have enjoyed during the twenty years of my episcopate from adverse criticism of my exercise of patronage, and I honestly think that I have deserved this immunity ; for I have certainly treated all patronage as a matter of very serious duty, involving grave personal responsibility, and to be dispensed without fear or favour or partial affection.

And I am grateful that my endeavours so to dispense it, and my desire to do the right thing in each case, seem to have been generally recognised by people of goodwill.

At the same time, I have not been greatly surprised that one or two of my recent appointments have called forth some objections. Let me give you one or two of my reasons for making them.

In the course of twenty years I have had the opportunity of appointing seven canons. Three of these were already serving as incumbents in the diocese, and two of them as pronounced High Churchmen belonged to the dominant party in the Church, that party which, during the last fifty years, has secured for

itself by far the greatest share of the best patronage in our Church of England. One I appointed from the outside to supply an urgent need of our Cathedral, because of his eminence and his unique fitness for the special work required. And when you think to-day of all that Canon Capes did for the preservation of our slowly decaying records and for the administration and well-being of the Cathedral itself, as also for the School attached to it, you will freely admit that my appointment has been more than abundantly justified.

The remaining three of these seven appointments I have felt it my duty, under very exceptional circumstances, to bestow on men of unusual distinction outside our own diocese.

And here is my justification for these appointments. I have selected them as leading members of the Liberal Progressive Broad Church School of Theology, that school to which, as it happens, I myself more or less belong.

It was not, however, on this personal ground that I selected them, but because in the course of a long life I have seen and regretted time after time the persistent neglect and hard treatment meted out to this important section of our Church by the higher authorities of both Church and State.

I have seen a succession of eminent and devout churchmen of this school passed over again and again, and treated with what amounted to a polite but lifelong boycott, and meeting with no adequate recognition of their merit or their work.

Even statesmen who were supposed to represent Liberal and Progressive opinion have again and again passed them by, possibly influenced by misrepresentation and detraction. Under these circumstances, I have been brought, after long years, to feel that it has become my duty to the Church, regarded as the reformed progressive and National Church, to do what little I have the opportunity of doing to redress the balance of this unequal treatment, and help to remedy the harm which such treatment of an important section of churchmen was doing to our religious life, and, indeed, to the prospects and influence of the Church itself.

No one can feel more deeply than I do of how little weight or importance is anything that I can do in the Church at large ; but we should all act on our convictions, however unimportant we may be ; and it seemed to me to be high time that this persistent exclusion of Liberal Churchmen from any due recognition should cease, or that some one at any rate should vindicate their claim and do something to re-establish the comprehensive and tolerant character of our National Church, and to save it from becoming practically denationalised and sinking into a sect, and

from inevitably losing vital influence over the educated manhood of a Protestant people.

Fortunately it is no function of the biographer to sit in judgment on the actions he narrates. Percival would certainly have agreed that a provincial Cathedral surrounded by a purely rural area was no specially suitable place for the gathering together of a Chapter, brilliant in distinction but keenly sensitive to the perplexities of current thought. But it was the only position that he controlled ; no one else seemed willing to act ; he considered that the Liberal Theologians were being boycotted to the great injury of the Church, and he came to the conclusion that he ought to do what lay in his power to correct this state of affairs.

The question of principle—the only question of principle—was whether the school of thought, to which the men appointed by Percival in the latter years of his episcopate belonged, had a right to its position within the Church. Percival emphatically held that it had. Holding this conviction, he bravely acted on it. The points of expediency were two : was a rural diocese a suitable arena for his action ? and, if not, was the total gain to the Church worth the loss, if any, that might be involved to the diocese by the appointment of men less obviously adapted to its immediate needs ? Percival would, no doubt, have preferred an urban centre for the action that he felt bound to take ; he would have preferred all his work to be in urban centres, among the industrial population. But he did not hold that a rural diocese was a definitely unsuitable place for Liberal Theologians ; he hoped that a group of scholars at the centre would gradually influence the minds of the clergy so that without any shock to faith the message of the Gospel would more and more be presented in a form immune from any attack by advancing knowledge. He peremptorily denied the saying that “ Broad Churchmen have no message for the common people.” Consequently he did not feel that he was in any degree sacrificing his diocese ; and he felt that he was benefiting the Church.

It must be admitted, however, that he did exasperate

the feeling of those who disagreed with him by his charges of unfairness or partisanship. He differed from their whole point of view; that was legitimate; but he did not put himself in their position and consider how, holding that point of view, they were bound to regard his action. To have done this need not have led to any modification of his own conduct, but it would have led to considerable modification of his attitude towards his opponents.

He claimed with justice that, if his appointments were reviewed as a whole, it would be found that he had been fair to all schools. But it also has to be admitted that in the later years his major appointments were chiefly of one colour. His own justification of his action admits this. He had waited till he thought it would be wrong to wait longer. Then he adopted a deliberate policy, and followed it with characteristic thoroughness.

There was undoubtedly a change of direction in his policy from 1902 onwards. He had always been a Liberal in politics; he had always sympathised with Liberals in theology. The education conflicts led him to feel more isolated than before, and to adopt a more definitely "Liberal" attitude. He did this, not because the views which he now more insistently emphasised and favoured were his own, but because he thought they were not receiving fair play. If he became himself to some extent a partisan, it was because he thought the party to which he attached himself had a just claim on his championship. Had he possessed greater intellectual sympathy with his opponents, and consequently a more conciliatory method of statement and argument, his championship would have been still more effective. As it was, he created a cleavage between the Cathedral and the diocese. He said in a letter to Canon Bannister written on February 4, 1913, "We have hardly any Modern Churchmen outside the Cathedral."

But he bore his witness to the Church as a whole, and it was not without effect. If he himself hardened in his own position as a result of isolation, it is equally true that "Modernists" are driven sometimes to "negations" by the boycotting process when sympathetic treatment would

produce another effect. Conciliation breeds conciliation. If men are made to fight with their backs to the wall, they cease to look for points of agreement with their adversaries. If George Tyrrell had remained in the more tolerant atmosphere of Anglicanism he would quite conceivably have remained substantially orthodox. The reconciliation of the traditional Christian faith and modern knowledge is necessary in every age, and in every age is difficult. It cannot be done by assertions and counter-assertions, by protests and counter-protests. It can only be done when men speak the truth in love. The position of the Modernist in the Church of England is easier than in some parts of the Catholic Church ; but it is difficult enough. He has his own problem of conscience to face ; he is the object of suspicion to a large section, probably the most active section, of the Church ; and under such handicaps he confronts an acutely difficult intellectual problem requiring the most delicate handling. If he receives no encouragement from any in authority in the Church, it is small wonder when he becomes antagonistic to the prevailing currents of Church life, to his own and the Church's great loss. Percival sought to make the Modernists and Liberal Theologians feel that at least one bishop valued their efforts and appreciated their difficulties. He may have made mistakes of method ; but his aim was no unworthy one and his pursuit of it showed a courageous constancy.

CHAPTER XV

LAST YEARS

THE story of John Percival's life has now been told down to the fatal year 1914. That is a date which for all in whose working lives it fell marks a sudden break of interest. Until then men had followed their various aims, sometimes in conflict with each other. In that year one dominating purpose seized upon all Englishmen, obliterating former differences and uniting them all in the concentrated effort and sorrow of the Great War. But for Bishop Percival sorrow began with the beginning of the year. His son, Guthrie, died most unexpectedly shortly after returning from Mexico where he had lately been. The whole sad story is given in outline in the following letter to Prebendary Wynne Willson :

LOLLARDS TOWER, LAMBETH, S.E.,
Jan. 27, 1914.

DEAR WYNNE WILLSON—I have just received your letter, and am very grateful for its consoling sympathy, which I greatly need, for Guthrie's death is a sore bereavement, and it has all come so suddenly. He left Mexico in the best of health and spirits, hoping to be back again after a few weeks at home ; but when his wife met him at Paddington he could hardly speak or hold up his head, being in the grip of very severe double pneumonia after a bad chill on the voyage. The rest was just a struggle till the heart gave way. The funeral service was at St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, at 11.30 this morning, and afterwards at Brookwood Cemetery. I feel thankful that you were spared the journey.—Yours very sincerely,

J. HEREFORD.



THE BISHOP, AND HIS YOUNGEST GRANDCHILD DOUGLAS PERCIVAL,
ON HIS EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY.

To the sorrow itself was added the bitterness of disappointment ; on hearing of his son's illness the Bishop had been on the point of starting for London when he had a telegram to say that his son had had a good night and was out of danger. He did, however, come to London a few days later and was able to have some conversation with Guthrie. Soon after this the end came suddenly, when the Bishop had gone to Bournemouth.

To the Rev. L. J. Percival

BOURNEMOUTH,
Jan. 24, 1914.

DEAR LANCE—Your telegram gave me a great shock, as I had begun to hope that the poor boy would pull through, though when I saw him last Saturday my heart sank. It has been a dreadfully sad home coming for him, and one can only say God's will be done. . . . I am thankful that you are on the spot to give your help.—Yours affectionately,

J. HEREFORD.

At this time he was glad to hope for some help in the spiritual work of the diocese. The last three years had been a time of constant controversy in which the Bishop was in a small minority. He was resisting what seemed to him the mischievous development of Catholic beliefs and practices. But he never ceased to value the influence and work of devoted Catholics or to admire the heroism which they showed. In the spring of 1914 Bishop Hine, formerly of Zanzibar, was retiring from his diocese of Northern Rhodesia, and Percival sought to secure his help in the Hereford diocese.

To the Rev. R. Burges Bayly

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
March 20, 1914.

DEAR MR. BURGES BAYLY—I am glad to hear that Bishop Hine is at last being released ; and I should be glad if you would tell Canon Crowfoot that the Bishop will be doing me a service if, when he comes home, he will come and give us a little help, as my chaplain will by that time be married and living in his own

house. I should like it if the Bishop cared to try the experiment of occupying his rooms in the Palace and assisting us with emergency work, which as you know means assisting an incumbent when ill or being responsible for the work of a parish during a vacancy. A saintly and experienced man like the Bishop going to one parish or another would be of great value to both priest and people ; and I hope he would not shrink from the experiment, especially as he knows Mrs. Percival and is an old friend of her family.

I should feel obliged if you can make all this known to the Bishop, through Canon Crowfoot or otherwise.—Yours sincerely,
J. HEREFORD.

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
March 25, 1914.

DEAR MR. BURGESS BAYLY—I return the Bishop's touching letter with thanks for a sight of it—with what rare and heroic simplicity he writes of the journey in front of him, as if it were little more than a walk through Herefordshire.—Yours sincerely,
J. HEREFORD.

During the dark days at the end of July Percival anxiously watched the gathering of the war clouds. His old passion for peace was still strong, and he knew no more than other men of the actual course of the recent diplomacy. Two days before the declaration of war he wrote to Canon Bannister :

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
August 2, 1914.

DEAR BANNISTER—Do you think we could get the Mayor to call a meeting of citizens to urge the Government to adhere to the policy of neutrality and efforts for peace ?

I have joined a Committee of protest against the mischievous utterances of our jingo Press ; and I sent last night a letter to every incumbent in the diocese about Prayers in Church, and asking him if possible to call a meeting of his parishioners, and to send to the Premier a resolution from it urging the policy of neutrality and efforts for peace.—Yours sincerely

J. HEREFORD.

Like many another advocate of peace, Percival was suddenly illuminated by the German violation of Belgian

neutrality. At once he confessed his conversion, and on August 12 this letter from his pen appeared in *The Times* :

THE JUSTICE OF OUR CAUSE

THE BISHOP OF HEREFORD ON MILITARISM

To the Editor of "The Times"

SIR—I am venturing to ask the hospitality of your columns in consequence of some wrong impressions abroad as to the patriotism of those who laboured for peace and the neutrality of our country so long as it was possible to do so.

Many of us believe that the great military empires of Europe with their war lords, their cynical reliance on brute force, and their unscrupulous policy, are a standing menace to all democratic and Christian civilisation. Their unceasing struggle for the balance of power, with its accompanying disregard of all moral obligation, brings not only danger, but also disgrace upon international politics. It is difficult to understand how men who in their personal relationships are honest and honourable can submit to be the instruments and ministers of such a policy. So long as these militarist governments dominate the politics of Europe, a concert of leading Powers, acting in the spirit of unselfish duty and goodwill, is practically impossible.

Thus it was obviously the duty of our Government, as it was its wisdom, to keep clear of all entanglements in the intrigues of the rival Continental Powers. France unhappily became thus entangled through alliance or understanding with one of these Powers in self-defence against another, and was kept in consequence within the vicious circle.

But we were assured by the Premier and Sir Edward Grey that England was free from all treaty obligations, and consequently at liberty to remain neutral in the war which the three military empires had provoked, and to labour for peace ; and, many of us, thus assured, as in duty bound, gave the policy of neutrality our whole-hearted support. Unfortunately, however, this assurance only covered half the ground.

While the course of our foreign policy had left us free from treaty obligations, it appears that in connection with our friendly ententes there had been commitments by way of understandings which, though entered into without authority of Parliament, made it difficult for us as a nation to stand aside with honour.

However, at this point the German Government (we have no

quarrel with the German people) solved our difficulties by its shameless cynicism and its flagrant disregard of all moral considerations. While breaking its pledged word by its unprovoked invasion of Belgium, it suggested to us the bargain by which we were to condone its action and desert the Belgian people. This proposal the Prime Minister appropriately described as infamous. The proposal, it is true, was accompanied by certain promises. But what is the value of a promise from a promise breaker?

Under these circumstances I am brought to the conclusion that in obedience to our treaty obligations, and in support of Belgium's just claim, our country had no choice but to take up the sword if honourable dealing was to have any chance of surviving in international affairs—the cynicism and duplicity against which we are thus called to fight are worse than war, notwithstanding all its horrors and its miseries, and for my part I trust that every Englishman will do his part in the cause of righteous dealing and to free our civilisation from the maleficent and unscrupulous pride of military despotism.

And amidst all the gloom of present and impending warfare there is this ray of hope for the masses of the people in every country involved in it—that such a fearful war, so wantonly provoked, can hardly fail to bring us appreciably nearer to the day when the people at large will rise up and insist that these unscrupulous militarist governments must be swept away and give place to governments in which the people rule and are free to live in the spirit of international brotherhood, peace, and goodwill.

Such a war is a heavy price to pay for our progress towards the realisation of the Christianity of Christ, but duty calls, and the price must be paid for the good of those who are to follow us.

That better and happier day, when the people now under militarist rule shall regulate their own life, is doubtless still so far away that an old man like myself can hardly hope to see its dawning, but amidst all the burden of gloom and sorrow which this dreadful war lays upon us we can at least thank God that it brings that better day a long step nearer for the generations in front of us.—Your obedient servant,

J. HEREFORD.

On August 25 he wrote again to Canon Bannister :

Yes, the days are dark and one can only pray that the French may be strong enough to roll back the German wave from their frontier.

In the midst of the heavy anxieties of the first months of the war Percival kept his eightieth birthday. He had many letters of congratulation, but it is doubtful if any pleased him more than one which he received from John Percival Wynne Willson, the eldest son of his friend.¹ To him the Bishop replied :

THE PALACE,
Sept. 27, 1914.

MY DEAR BOY—It was very nice of you to send me your good wishes on my birthday, and I am very glad to have them ; and I hope you have a great many happy birthdays before you. I am so very glad to hear that you are getting on so well at school. With my best thanks for your letter.—Yours affectionately,

J. HEREFORD.

Percival celebrated his eightieth birthday in a characteristic fashion. He sent sums of money to various poor clergy in his diocese with this note :

The Bishop, feeling that a thank-offering is due from him for the gift of length of days and good health, thinks it may appropriately be given to some of those who have been doing good work for the Church in the diocese on a very scanty income, and he hopes you will accept the enclosed £—— and use it as you think best.

In October the news was received that Arthur Percival had been awarded the Legion of Honour. Writing to Canon Alexander to answer congratulations the Bishop said :

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
October 10, 1914.

MY DEAR ALEXANDER—It was very good of you to send me your kind and welcome letter, and I return my grateful thanks.

Yes, if my son's mother had lived his distinction as a soldier would have been a great joy to her. What has won him this particular decoration I do not know, as he has told us nothing

¹ This is the boy of whom his father tells the story, that when quite a small boy he was taken to see the Bishop. On being brought into the study the child saw a tiny chair which caught his fancy, and he took it and placed it beside the Bishop and sat in it. Later, when the child left, the chair was in his perambulator, placed there by the Bishop's orders.

about it. He is a very reticent and modest person. I can only suppose that it may be for something he did in that very risky retreat after the battle of Mons. I hope the Germans will have more sense than to threaten London with Zeppelins. They seem to be of little use unless it is useful to strike terror into an un-offending population, and they would certainly make our English people so angry that they would give a stimulus to recruiting.

You seem to have done well with your finances this last year. With best regards to Mrs. Alexander.—Yours very sincerely,

J. HEREFORD.

Soon after this, Arthur Percival wrote to say that he had been told officially that he was to be promoted to a Brigade. But almost immediately this happy news was followed by that of Colonel Percival's death. It was a shattering blow. Writing to the Rev. L. J. Percival he said :

Thank you for writing. I feel as if this sudden blow had taken all strength and feeling out of my life. We shall miss him sorely every day.

The aching void was still a constant anguish two years later.

To Mrs. Arthur Percival

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
Oct. 30, 1916.

DEAR CECIL—I do not remember, if I ever realised, whether the 30th or the 31st was the day on which we lost Arthur. The only thing I know for certain is what a daily sorrow the loss has been to me ever since. Every day my thoughts are with him ; sometimes I try to be thankful that he had a life so congenial to him, and that he was happy, as I believe he was, in all the strenuous work and amidst all the perils of the last weeks of his life ; and sometimes I wonder what he would have done as a General the last two years. But this is idle, and the sense of loss is the ever present thing, so that I can hardly bring myself to take interest in anything.

I am, however, thankful to have had him, and I hope you, being younger, are recovering from the sense of loss and able to enjoy the interests of life which you have within your reach.—With my love, I am, Ever yours affectionately,

J. HEREFORD.

To the Rev. L. J. Percival

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
Nov. 3, 1916.

DEAR LANCE—I was glad to have your letter this morning and to hear of your All Saints' Day.

It will always be to us the end of dear Arthur's noble life ; and it is some consolation to feel that he enjoyed it all so fully ; and no doubt his last days were gladdened by the thought that his opportunities were just opening out before him. But God disposes and we must be content. . . .

We got through our Diocesan Conference—one day only—quite happily. Everything goes very pleasantly nowadays. Dr. Chapman keeps me on my legs by careful instructions, but I am rather tottery and so take no liberties, and I am rather amused when people say, as they do almost daily, I am very glad to see you looking so well. We go to Clifton next week for a council meeting.—Yours affectionately,

J. HEREFORD.

The love for Clifton lasted till the end ; and the Bishop founded there a memorial of his son for which the thanks of the Council were expressed in a letter from Sir Herbert Warren, the President of Magdalen.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD,
March 13, 1915.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP—When you left the Chair the other day the Council asked me to take your place, which in itself I always regard as a privilege.

The Headmaster then reported to us a proposal from yourself to found a Scholarship of £30 to £40 a year, open to sons of British officers in His Majesty's service, in memory of your son, Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Jex-Blake Percival, Fifth Fusiliers, D.S.O., and Officer of the Legion of Honour, who was killed in action at Ypres on the 31st of October 1914.

I need not say I am sure that the Council one and all were deeply touched by this proposal, and that they were unanimous in accepting this very precious gift from you.

They passed the resolution "that the Scholarship is accepted with the best thanks of the Council," and requested me to write to you on behalf of the Council and express their appreciation of this gift.

I have had the minute from the Secretary, but how shall I attempt to discharge my task? I think words simple and short will be best. I have tried before to tell you something of what I thought of your splendid and gallant soldier son, and your sad loss.

I would say now first that we all, your old friends, feel what a help this Scholarship will be to the School. We feel your generosity in giving it to the School, a generosity not new, but for that reason the more marked. We feel how helpful it will be to many parents of boys, exactly of the kind whom the School would wish to aid in the coming years, but before all we feel, and I feel especially, that this Foundation is no common, but rather a very sacred, one, and that the name and example of your son himself, commemorated by it, should be in themselves a stimulus, I hope sometimes something of an inspiration, to the young hearts who in the future history of the School will be the "Arthur Percival" Scholars.—Believe me to be, My very dear Lord Bishop, Always sincerely yours,

HERBERT WARREN.

The Bishop's Sixth and last Visitation was held in 1915. In the course of his Charge, which was mainly occupied with the justification of his policy in making appointments,¹ the Bishop said :

We meet to-day under heavy clouds : anxiety and sorrow, sacrifice and bereavement, are casting their shadow over so many lives. It is in the hope that we are contributing in some degree to the upraising of the life of nations a little nearer to the standard of Christ's Kingdom and to the promise of happier days for the generations in front of us that we bear unflinchingly, and as a call of God, each of us our individual share of the sure and heavy burden of sacrifice and bereavement in our darkened homes.

And as we bear this burden it will assuredly be helpful if we are careful to remember and to teach that men learn their best and truest lessons of life and conduct in these hours of supreme visitation and sorrow. Such times call out all that is best and noblest in man's nature. They are our hours of truest insight, and they uplift us into the region of the higher and better life. Strengthened by such reflections, and feeling that along with our Allies we are the predestined instruments to save the Christian civilisation of Europe from being overcome by a brutal and ruthless military paganism, we should make it our

¹ See Chap. XIV.

primary duty to prosecute this warfare at all cost till the victory is won and the law of Christ is firmly established as the paramount authority in all national and international affairs.

From the time when he became persuaded of the justice of the nation's cause there was no wavering of purpose ; but the sacrifice had been great. Such sorrows, however, did not interfere with the performance of his duties, or with his enjoyment of the presence of young folk about him. In the summer of 1915 the children of the Rev. L. J. Percival were staying at Hereford, to their grandfather's intense delight.

To the Rev. L. J. Percival

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
July 2, 1915.

DEAR LANCE—Roger's books have arrived, and we have had a little turn at them together. He seems to have made a nice beginning with his Latin. He is very pleased with himself, as he has a new suit on this morning, and has found a threepenny piece in one of the pockets. This puzzles him a good deal. He cannot tell how it got there, but he knows how it can be spent.

Douglas is in excellent spirits, but he has no desire to come and show me what he can read. . . .—Yours affectionately,

J. HEREFORD.

He was still able to appreciate a vigorous and racy speech. On August 6, 1915, he wrote to Canon Bannister :

We had a crowded and enthusiastic meeting in the Shire Hall last night, and Will Crooks addressed us in a very entertaining and stirring way—*more suo*.

The following account of him in these last years is given by the Rev. C. R. Norcock, who was his domestic chaplain from September 1916 until his resignation :

One's first and last impression of Bishop Percival was that of the combination of reserve and "aloofness" in his manner with the wonderful gentleness and courtesy which he showed towards individuals. On learning that a candidate for deacon's Orders, who was chosen as "Gospeller," was very unwell, the Bishop sent for him before the Ordination, told him that he

wished him not to miss the distinction of reading the Gospel, and added that to save him from feeling the strain of the long service he had ordered a chair to be put for him in a corner of the Choir, and had also appointed a "deputy" to read the Gospel, in case he should feel at the last moment unable to do so.

I had to meet some rather unusual difficulties of a particularly trying kind in my first curacy, and received the kindest possible letters of advice and sympathy from the Bishop. It was almost always obvious that his sympathies lay with the curate rather than with the incumbent, when trouble of any kind arose to disturb the relations between them.

When I returned to Hereford in the autumn of 1916 as domestic chaplain, the Bishop's health was beginning to fail him; but he had lost none of his extraordinary intimate knowledge of parochial conditions all over the diocese. Sometimes when engaged on his correspondence with me, if the name of some remote parish came up for consideration, the Bishop would close his eyes and think for a moment, then astonish me with his accurate memory of all connected with the place and its incumbent. His judgments were usually gentle and most forbearing. "They are feeble folk," he would remark of some particularly fussy and helpless clergy. For ill-health, or poverty, he showed an especially warm sympathy. More than once I have seen his eyes fill with tears on reading a letter from some vicar in distress of mind or body. And then out would come his cheque-book, and a very generous gift would be sent, to call forth a grateful letter of relief and renewed hope in reply.

He could, of course, be severe when need arose. He had no mercy for double-dealing, or disloyalty in any shape or form. The soul of "straightness" himself in all his actions, he could not understand the shifts and evasions to which some of the less honourable among his clergy had recourse from time to time. But such instances were extremely few and far between. He showed the utmost patience in granting interviews on almost any matter to those who wished to consult him.

On one occasion a clergyman, whom I happened to have met previously, arrived during breakfast "to pay his respects to the Bishop," who at once went to him, and finding him a complete stranger from another diocese, charmed him with his courteous interest and attention. That was only one of many similar instances of the Bishop's ready accessibility to all. During this last year he more than once confirmed wounded soldiers in his private chapel, and after the service would delight to show them the many sporting trophies, once the property of his own soldier son, which adorned the Hall.

In the Chapel itself he had for long been in the habit of reading the lessons at the daily offices, and after the death of his son in action he would himself read the commendation of the Fallen to the divine "redeeming love" and mercy in the special form of "war prayers." At celebrations he was careful that the two lights of English custom should be used, and he would always take the ablutions outside the Chapel at the end of the service. He greatly disliked the use of the "cursing Psalms," and instructed the chaplain to be careful in making his selection of the psalm to be read in the shortened order of morning and evening prayer.

From time to time one would gain a glimpse of his own deep and earnest faith. I once ventured to put to him the famous question, which was popularly supposed to be asked of every candidate for an army chaplaincy, "What would you say if you were called to the side of a man who had only two minutes (or five minutes) to live?" The Bishop thought for a few seconds in silence, then answered, "The Twenty-third Psalm; trust in Christ."

His comments on books and their writers were invariably characteristic and illuminating. He lent me Bishop Gore's book on Reservation, remarking, when I returned it, that it was good, but that "he argues like a mediæval bishop." He could not make much of Father Nicholai Velimirovic's book on the spirit of Serbian Christianity, saying only, "It seems to be a kind of mystical pronouncement." But, curiously enough, he greatly enjoyed Mr. G. C. Rawlinson's book of studies in modern French Catholicism, although its author's standpoint was precisely the reverse of his own. Probably the memory of his own meeting and conversation with the late Archbishop of Albi, Mgr. Mignot, had given him an interest in the French Church.

Another book which he read more than once towards the end of his life was the Bishop of Durham's little volume, called *Memories of a Vicarage*. He had a special admiration for Dr. Moule, saying once of him, "He is a very good bishop. He attends to his spiritual duties." He spoke also with deep feeling of Bishop Ellicott's habit of rising early for private intercession for his people. At the ordinations, Dr. Percival invariably repeated aloud to himself the special suffrage in the Litany for the ordinands. He had a great liking and respect for the convictions of those whom he described as "moderate High Churchmen." Indeed, in certain respects his own views approximated to theirs. Lightfoot and Hort to him were the "masters."

I asked him to lend me the MS. of the wonderfully impressive charge which he delivered on the eve of my ordination. He

said, " You will find it all, better done, in Lightfoot " ; and after dinner Lightfoot's Ordination Addresses were sent in to my room ! Needless to say, his own most striking words of counsel and warning were *not* to be found there.

His " Nunc Dimittis " was beautiful in its peace and resignation. On his last Sunday in Hereford he insisted (against his doctor's wishes) on receiving the Eucharist once more in his Cathedral ; and on the day on which he left for Oxford he said " good-bye " individually to every member of his household.

To the gentleness and strength which marked his character one must add his deep, though quiet, sense of humour. We delighted to " draw him out," with his fascinating store of reminiscences of the Oxford of Newman, Pusey, and Mark Pattison. It was to their generation that he himself belonged, and he seemed to sum up in his own character and outlook all that was best and most progressive in the Church of mid-Victorian days.

To the very end he was dogged by controversy. In the latest years of his episcopate opinion in the Church of England was greatly agitated with regard to the adoration of the Reserved Sacrament. Percival was unable to attend a meeting of bishops at which this was to be considered, and circulated an appeal of which the most important paragraphs are as follows :

I have to ask the kind indulgence of my brother bishops for venturing to trouble them with this appeal, which I make (as an old man) in the conviction that the usefulness and influence of the Church of England is gravely threatened by the Romanising section of the Church, and that it is the paramount duty of the bishops to maintain the Church as a pure and spiritual branch of the Church of Christ.

I suggest for consideration the following as indicating the lines on which a concession may be made with safety :

1. The rubric forbidding Reservation to remain untouched, recent experience having shown the wisdom of the reformers and the certainty of constant trouble in maintaining any other rule free from abuse under a good-natured, lax, or sympathetic bishop.

2. To allow a priest the option of an alternative use in the communion of the sick as follows :

Whenever he has already communicated it shall not be necessary for him to communicate again, and he shall be at

liberty to consecrate sufficient bread and wine for the sick person and those who communicate with him, beginning the Consecration Prayer at the words: "The same night that He was betrayed," etc., and he may also with the consent of the Bishop shorten the service as the condition of the sick person or other circumstances may require.

In this way the established usage of our Reformed Church may be adequately safeguarded and the present backward drift towards Rome, which is so dangerous to our Church and so retrograde, may be stopped without offence to any loyal section of Church people.

The aim of this proposal was to find some way of "meeting those who feel a difficulty in regard to communion of the sick and yet are honestly loyal to the spirit of the Prayer Book." Once more Percival was doomed to fail through total misunderstanding of those whose views he did not share. It is inconceivable that any priest who feels a difficulty about the communion of the sick should be relieved by a permission to consecrate for the sick man without receiving the Sacrament himself; for it is far more integral to the whole doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice that the priest who consecrates should himself receive than that when he receives he should be fasting. Once more the genuine sympathy of feeling was frustrated by the absence of any corresponding sympathy of mind.

In the last year of his episcopate the National Mission of Repentance and Hope was launched. Percival was already too old to take an active part, but he concerned himself very eagerly with the arrangements in the Hereford diocese, attending personally every service held during a Convention at Hereford that lasted for two and a half days.

It had been his custom to preach in the Cathedral every year on Christmas Day. But in 1916 he wrote to Canon Bannister to say that he was forbidden to attempt it:

THE PALACE, HEREFORD,
December 22, 1916.

DEAR CANON—I am sorry to have to ask you to excuse me on Christmas Day. Dr. Chapman says I must not attempt it, and, what is still more important, I feel unable to prepare a sermon

or to preach one when prepared. My powers of thinking and of utterance are both going from me, and there is nothing more to be said.

It is disappointing, as I had got my subject ready—All things new in Christ—but Christ not yet fully recognised in public and international affairs, and the menace to civilisation from the recrudescence of anti-Christian barbaric standards in German policy.

But you will give us something much better, and I hope without great inconvenience.—Yours very sincerely,

J. HEREFORD.

That marked the beginning of the end. Physical weakness had begun to appear, but his patience and strength of will had greatly concealed it. Moreover he was full of sorrows. Friends of the old days were mostly dead. Of his eight children only two survived. Already he had given notice that if his health showed no improvement he would resign in the following year. No improvement took place, and in the summer of 1917 he left Hereford to spend his remaining days in Oxford. Of the many letters which he received four shall be quoted here :

*From the Headmaster of Rugby*¹

SCHOOL HOUSE, RUGBY,
Sept. 18, 1917.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP—At the close of your work your friends must all be wishing you to be conscious of the honour and love in which they hold you. When I think of all the men to whom I have owed much, and they are many, I think first of you. Not only did you give me my first real start in life, but you set me a noble example of wisdom and strength and devotion. Once you referred to me in public as your son in the spirit. It made me very proud, and I have longed better to deserve the name. I have used your inheritance not worthily, but at least with continual mindfulness of the gift. My gratitude must be shown, if I can show it, in deeds, but I should like you to know that I shall feel myself your debtor all my life.

For yourself I hope and pray that the years God may give you yet may be blessed with good health, peace of mind, and happy memories.—Believe me, Yours in grateful affection,

A. A. DAVID.

¹ Now Bishop of St. Edmundsbury and Ipswich.

*From the Headmaster of Wellington*¹

THE LODGE,
WELLINGTON COLLEGE, BERKSHIRE,
November 23, 1917.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP—I have often written to you for help and advice, and now the spirit moves me to tell you of my gratitude. It is very sincere. Many must be feeling this towards you, and I do hope that the consciousness of it will give a glow to the evening of your days. Often and often when I have come to the ugly corners which sometimes face all headmasters, I have got courage from thinking of the fearless way in which you would have faced such a situation. I am proud that I began my work under you at Rugby and continued it at Clifton, where your spirit can never die. There is change ahead of English schools, and I hope we shall have the wisdom to meet it, and that all the headmasters in England—and there are many—who have caught some inspiration from you will hand it on to the next generation.

I don't often come to Oxford now, but when I do I will come to see you, so please do not answer this. I just wanted to say "Thank you."—Yours gratefully and affectionately,

W. W. VAUGHAN.

From the Archbishop of Canterbury

LAMBETH PALACE, S.E.,
Sept. 27, 1917.

MY DEAR BISHOP—It is distressing to us to realise that we are no longer to have you and Mrs. Percival as inmates of the ancient Tower. But I hope we may none the less have opportunity of seeing you, if and when you are in London.

I trust that the quiet of Oxford and the release from diocesan cares may be of real advantage to your health and strength.

I have valued very highly during these busy years the advantage of your friendship and counsel, and these are not going to be withheld from us in the coming days. May God have you constantly in His keeping.—I am, Yours affectionately,

RANDALL CANTUAR.

¹ Now Headmaster of Rugby.

*From the Bishop-Designate of Hereford*¹

DEANERY, DURHAM,
December 16, 1917.

MY DEAR BISHOP—I have been down with a bad chill contracted a week ago, and am still rather a wreck. Besides, I did not know where you were living until this afternoon, when Mrs. Percival's letter (which had been "snowed under" a mountainous mass of letters) came into my hands.

It has seemed to me plainly my duty to accept a place on the Episcopal Bench, though I foresee that in that place there can be for me henceforth neither peace nor comfort. I hold it an honour to succeed to one who has held so long and so worthily the position of the leader of Anglican Liberalism, and I have allowed myself to hope that you will not be wholly discontented with having me in Hereford.—With much respect, Believe me, my dear Bishop, most faithfully yours,

H. HENSLEY HENSON.

For just over a year the Bishop lived at Oxford enjoying the society of many old friends. But strength was failing all the time. At last he became unable to speak, though he still liked to see his friends and showed by movements of his head or by the old quiet smile that he understood what was being said. So he peacefully sank to his rest. On Tuesday, December 3, 1918, he died. In a letter to Mrs. Percival the Archbishop of York expressed the feelings of all friends and pupils of Percival:

From the Archbishop of York

BISHOPSTHORPE, YORK,
Dec. 16, 1918.

DEAR MRS. PERCIVAL—There can be no grief for him. I feel with all my heart the pathos of the sight of him once so strong imprisoned by infirmity. Now he has been liberated and is in freedom and peace.

I like to think of him now finding ever more fully the visions and ideals of his life fulfilled and indicated.

It is a wonderful tribute to his personality that a man who never faltered in the assertion of his convictions even when they were not popular received so large a measure of affection and

¹ Now Bishop of Durham.

reverence to his blending of courage and courtesy. In his championship of what he believed to be right and his fearless opposition to what he believed to be evil, in his boldness, and in his tenderness, he always seemed to me a type of Christian chivalry.

I am sure that he will still have a high place in the spiritual army which watches over the course of truth, justice and freedom. I often differed from his opinions but I never failed to see and to reverence the nobility of his spirit.—Yours sincerely,

COSMO EBOR.

He was buried in the Crypt of Clifton College Chapel, among the abiding monuments of his chief creative effort. The four headmasters who succeeded him—Canon J. M. Wilson, Canon Glazebrook, Dr. David and Mr. J. E. King—were all present, as well as a great number of his friends and admirers. His former pupil at Clifton, Sir Herbert Warren, represented the University of Oxford. There were memorial services in Hereford Cathedral, at Trinity College, Oxford, and in St. James's, Piccadilly.

Looking back at the long career we realise the greatness of the achievement. Starting from the yeoman's home, and the little school, to which in his will he left £1000 to help able boys in need of assistance, he had passed the whole of his working life in posts of high responsibility and in close contact with the leading personalities and dominating forces of his time. He had toiled consistently for liberty, for peace, and for education. If, as he toiled, his own outlook hardened under the stress of controversy, it is equally true that to his friends his nature softened and mellowed. Many who had known him as a headmaster were surprised at the gentleness and accessibility which they found when they visited him at Hereford. Moreover, he was one for whom the discipline of sorrow was refining. Dr. David spoke truly of him :

On all he did was the mark of greatness. A friend naturally shrinks from attempting to describe that greatness in cold words. There is something sacred about an influence like his.

We feared him, and we knew the fear was good for us.

He exacted, he insisted, he was not afraid to repeat again and again in his gentle and rather melancholy voice, often in the same words, his appeals for corporate life, for high tone, for unworldly purpose, for scorn of feebleness, for determined leadership. All this we accepted because we knew that what he demanded of us he gave himself, at cost. And we were aware that there glowed behind it a great passion for righteousness. He grieved at that which baser men sometimes condone. It wounded him. He saw no reason why men or boys should make the least concession to the low, the base, the degrading, and he made us feel that there was no reason.

He was one of those who led us through many sorrows to the full possession of the love of God.

And perhaps the heaviest trial was the last. For many months he had patiently endured the misery of weakness. And then God set the strong soul free.

He was a great individuality. He never shrank from standing alone. Sometimes it almost seemed that he preferred it. But whether he stood alone or with the multitude, he always stood for righteousness as it had been given him to apprehend it. He was a stern fighter, giving no quarter to views that he thought erroneous. He was a constant friend, never failing those who trusted his affection. He was a true prophet, refusing and forbidding to compromise the moral law. He was a man who lived by faith in God.

APPENDIX

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE MEMORIAL SERVICE, ST. JAMES'S,
PICCADILLY, ON DECEMBER 7, 1918

(Reprinted at the request of Dr. Percival's family)

Remember them that had the rule over you, which spake unto you the word of God ; and considering the issue of their life, imitate their faith.—Hebrews xiii. 7.

Such words are appropriate to our gathering here to-day. We are met together to give thanks for a long life of noble service, for consecrated spirit. And some of us at least are thinking of ties especially close. For myself, it is the old headmaster, the godfather, the venerable and affectionate counsellor for whom I render thanks. And as I call to mind all that I owe to him I can wish for no exhortation to memory and will more apposite than this : “ Remember them that had the rule over you, which spake unto you the word of God ; and considering the issue of their life, imitate their faith.”

From earliest childhood I had learnt to love Dr. Percival. He was an old and specially close friend of my father, under whom he worked as an assistant master at Rugby, and at whose recommendation he was appointed at the age of twenty-seven to be the first Headmaster of Clifton, with all the responsibility of planning the main lines on which the School should develop. To him now that School looks back as the architect of its greatness, and most fittingly he has there been laid to rest.

No one questions his greatness as a headmaster ; he is one of the pre-eminent figures of the nineteenth century, a century rich in great educators. At Clifton his task was to create ; at Rugby it was to revivify, and that perhaps is the harder of the two. It was only for his last two terms that I was at Rugby as a boy in his house. But I remember vividly the perfect strength and mastery which enabled him to treat minor offences with singular lightness, while judging with a truly awful sternness offences

which are indicative of base or mean character. No one then in the School can forget the sudden realisation of love and trust in the chief whom we were losing that came to every boy at that time. Dr. Percival was a headmaster of the older type. There was no close intimacy, still less familiarity, between him and his pupils while they were still at the School. It was only when it was known that he was leaving us that many began to realise their feelings towards him. He went to a diocese not at all ready to welcome a man of his opinions, but by universal testimony he won the esteem and affection even of those who most strongly differed from him. His loftiness of thought and feeling, his personal gentleness combined with clear conviction and indomitable will, his sure faith in God—in fact, the sheer goodness of the man—drew all hearts to him.

All men revered him. Were it not that a slight indisposition prevents the Archbishop of Canterbury from being present, it would have been his wish to come and testify to his high appreciation of the friend whom he honoured. That cannot be ; and I have been asked, as one who has special reasons for remembering Bishop Percival with thankfulness, to speak of him here to-day, the pupil speaking of his master. It is difficult to single out special points in such a career or character as most deserving of meditation or gratitude. I will speak only of two. This is a democratic age, and Bishop Percival was a believer in democracy. Yet there has never been a more thorough believer in authority nor a man more expert in the exercise of it. Here was something that is sadly needed to-day. Our progress in democracy will be merely an advance to ruin unless there is a full recognition of leadership, and the faculty for reverence receives the training that only comes by exercise. By his keen support of all efforts for the extension of education, Bishop Percival showed his belief in the duty of offering to the children of all sections of society facilities for the fullest development of their faculties ; in that sense all should be equal. But by character and ability some would rise, as he himself had risen, to positions of leadership and authority. Then, though there was still equality of absolute worth, because the only true dignity belongs to the doing of a man's own duty, whatever it may be, yet the dignity of one would be found in his loyal obedience to another, because that other was invested with authority. To command is not nobler than to obey ; the equality of men is in the worth before God of their service, whether they render it as kings or as bondsmen. So he seemed to teach us. The great democrat was a stern disciplinarian. And the two found their reconciliation in his own obedience to conscience and reverence to God.

This is the other point that I would single out for our recollection. I remember my father saying to me one day after he had visited us at Lambeth: "Merely to be in his presence is to be drawn nearer to God." Experience proved that this was true. There was in him something of the Puritan and a great deal of the Stoic. His faith was founded on the rock of solid intellectual conviction and absolute dedication of will. For this reason he could practise a toleration of doubtfully orthodox beliefs in others which caused dismay in many quarters. He was jealous for full freedom of inquiry and thought, knowing that a faith carefully sheltered from doubts is a precarious support in the greatest trials of life. And he took the consequences of this concern for intellectual liberty, giving appointments to those whose orthodoxy was suspect, because he thought the Church as a whole too slow to recognise the services of those who are battling for the faith of free men against the mechanical influences of the day. But this course was made possible for him, as was also his contempt for the attacks to which it exposed him, by his own sure faith and purpose. The fear of God of which the Bible speaks, not any cringing or selfish anxiety concerning what God may do to us, but a vivid sense of the awful majesty of the Most High and of man's puny insignificance before Him—this was very living to him and the source of his moral strength. This type of mind is not expansive, and in many ways he was somewhat lonely. But he longed for intimacy and affection, and warmed to it when it was offered to him.

For this stoicism did not comprise the whole of his spiritual life; there was a tender and even affectionate devotion to our Lord. It is no accident, I am sure, that as I recall the sight of him in the pulpit at Rugby Chapel, in the days when as a boy of just thirteen I looked up to that beautiful white head rising in sharp contrast above the tall black-gowned figure, the words that come back to me are the words of the familiar Collect: "Daily endeavour ourselves to follow the blessed steps of His most holy life."

Such an one it is that we commemorate. "Remember them that had the rule over you, which spake unto you the word of God." Some of us at least will vow to remember. "And considering the issue of their life, imitate their faith." God helping us, we will. One thing we know for certain. That noble beauty of character is not perished. The physical frame which served him through his long life, but became at last a burden, is laid aside. But we know that with angels and archangels and all the company of Heaven he lauds and magnifies the glorious Name of God whom here he served and worshipped. And some

of us look forward to a day when we may once more be his pupils, learning from his wise and venerated counsel the lessons of life in another world than this, still strengthened by his quiet and gentle strength, still confirmed by his unshakable assurance, still girded to enterprise by his resolute will, as he points us still to his Master and Saviour, bidding us daily endeavour ourselves to follow the blessed steps of His most holy life.

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¹ On which he based a precept no less characteristic—"Collect *something*, if only postage stamps."

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1860. A Master at Rugby for two years ; then he becomes
1862. First Headmaster of Clifton. Temple's forecast, 11
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Percival, John (*contd.*)—

by Sir H. Newbolt, Canon Wilson, and Sir H. Warren, 20-29; his first Clifton sermon's text, "Neither is he that planteth anything, nor he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase"—also the text of his Jubilee sermon there in 1912

1867. Extract from his first sermon in the new Chapel, June 23, 1867, 23-25

1869. Two years later, Dr. Temple becoming Bishop of Exeter, Percival stood for the vacant Headship of Rugby, but was rejected in favour of Dr. Hayman, 43

His foresight and courage were shown in the recognition from the first of the claims of *Natural Science*.¹ The distinguished Science teachers he appointed form an impressive list. One of them, Sir William Tilden, F.R.S., writes: "The world is much indebted to Dr. Percival's insight, for without any knowledge of *Natural Science* he saw how important some knowledge of that kind was going to be," 33

Another strong point in the Clifton system from the first was the passing direct from school of candidates for the Indian Civil Service and the Army, 38

In fostering Music he was equally early in the field, though himself no musician. Besides other schemes for its advancement, both in the School and in Bristol, one—the Sunday evening music and lecture—grew into an important School institution [and gave scope for memorable ad-

dresses by Brown, Dakyns, Irwin, Vaughan, and others of the Staff, and by visitors—the Bishop of Exeter (Dr. Temple), Professor Bonamy Price, Sir Herbert Warren, Judge Thomas Hughes, Sir Edward Fry, Mr. George Macdonald, etc.], 33

1872. The making of the *School Hymn Book* greatly interested him, and drew from him advice to the compilers in which, as usual, he anticipated much later views, 33, 34

From the beginning he set a high value on games as a factor in education; in this connection the School motto—"Spiritus intus alit"—may be taken to suggest that the *Percivalian* spirit had not a little to do with the very remarkable early success of Clifton in athletics (1867-1887). He was generally to be seen in the Close during "foreign" matches, 35, 36

The Town Boys, a very large element at Clifton, he organised into "Houses," making them equal sharers with the rest in the discipline and various activities of school life (cp. for his views on Day Schools *v.* Boarding Schools his address to Whitgift School in 1911). Town parents also submitted gladly to the yoke, 36, 37

1870. The *School Mission* in Bristol—the first School Mission—was the result of his deep interest in the great neighbour city, and also of his hopes that the School would derive from it, as the reward of their interest, some training in citizenship, 38

[In both aspects the enterprise attracted the sympathy of the veteran author of *Tom*

¹ *Natural Science* even at Rugby was not regularly established in the school curriculum till 1865, but it had been an alternative subject to German in the Upper School, to French below, since about 1853, when Dr. Goulburn appointed the Rev. B. Compton "*Natural Philosophy*" Master. He was succeeded by Mr. Highton, in whose absence Dr. Temple during his first half year as Headmaster took all the *Natural Philosophy* sets himself. The present writer treasures his note-book in *Experimental Mechanics*, the memorial of the first teaching he got from Dr. Temple.—E. M. O.

Percival, John (*contd.*)—

Brown, who wrote: "The Clifton Register is a noble record of work for England, and Clifton may well be proud of it, and most of all, in my judgment, of the example set in the Mission to the other great schools."]

His efforts in support of social reform were not confined to Bristol. The *Life of George Moore* by Smiles relates the effect of his letter to Moore on Westmoreland morality, and shows his interest in Moore's scheme to enable clever poor boys to better their education, 41, 42; Mrs. Basil Johnson, the Bishop's daughter, tells the story of Watts's portrait of her father, a memorial of Mr. Moore's friendship, 42

1874. He stands again for Rugby (Dr. Hayman having been dismissed), and is a second time rejected, his friend Dr. T. W. Jex Blake being elected by a small majority, 44

1878. Inauguration of a Jewish House at Clifton, the first experiment of the kind, 43

The first seventeen years of Clifton produced a remarkable Honours List, 38

He accepts the offered **Presidency of Trinity**, 52; Canon Wilson's impressions of his reasons for leaving Clifton, 53; Oxford feelings of surprise, 65; circumstances of the election, 66; Sir H. Warren on his Presidency, 75; friction between him and the Fellows and Undergraduates, 74; "his rule irksome to some, but with result indisputable," 74

1879. His interest in the cause of **Female Education**; prime mover in establishment of **Somerville College**, and first President of its Council, 76

1880. Winter trip to Engadine, and its episodes, 77; enter-

tains Cardinal Newman at Trinity, 77

1881. Loses his very promising youngest son Frederick, 78

Appointed **Canon of Bristol**; starts there **Sunday Evening Nave Services**, himself providing a pulpit, 80; account of his Bristol activities by Mr. Vaughan Nash, 80

1882. Enthusiastic work as Pioneer of the **University Extension** movement; urges the Colleges to plant colonies of their Fellows in the great provincial towns; offers to resign Trinity, and take over the **Censorship of the Unattached**; Jowett's advice, 83; starts the new buildings at Trinity, 86

Initiates **Sunday Evening Lectures** at St. Mary's, 87; his Trinity sermons described by Bishop Gore and Canon Galpin, 89

Declines to stand for the Eton Headmastership, and, shortly afterwards, for Harrow, 89, 90

1886. Invited by the Rugby Governing Body—which had rejected him in 1869 and 1874—he accepts the **Headmastership of Rugby**, 90-95; congratulations of friends, 94, 95; first bright impressions of Rugby (93) darkened by the need, soon realised, of a moral reformation, and by the doubt whether the short span likely to be granted would suffice for its achievement [he was now (1887) fifty-three], 101

1887. Stamps out idleness; abolishes "unwholesome" athletic distinctions; revives responsibility of the Sixth Form; keenly interests himself in Rugby games—but only as a part of his system, 103

His choice of masters, and relations with them, 105; improves the status of Town Boys, making a Town "House," 111

First day of Term Addresses

Percival, John (*contd.*)—

to School, and especially to new boys, 113

His absolute control of the School; symptomatic incident at School House Prayers, 114; not merely "popular," but, though feared, yet in the deepest sense loved; but a terror to evildoers, 113

Inspires the institution of the Rugby School Missions, 117
1890. Writes to the *Times*, "well knowing how unpopular his action would be," on Welsh Disestablishment, 118; preaches at Westminster Abbey, denouncing gambling, and lamenting a racing Prime Minister, 123

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1895. "He did what he set out to do, and Rugby will for ever honour him," 114

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Lord Rosebery offers him the Bishopric of Hereford, which after some hesitation he accepts, 132; congratulations from Dr. Martineau and others; consecrated in Westminster Abbey, 136; makes his first Convocation speech in favour of Welsh Disestablishment, 137; writes to the *Times* criticising a memorial to Lord Salisbury, in which was suggested additional aid to voluntary schools, 178; paper at Church Congress on the Education controversy, 181; writes in the *Nineteenth Century* a "Plea for Mutual Concessions," 185

1896. Death of Mrs. Percival, 138; the greatness of his loss, 141, 142

His first appointment to a Canonry ("of a definite Catho-

lic"—"it is of no moment what people will say"), 145

1898. His six Visitation Charges, each dealing with some main topic of the day, 146 *sqq.*; correspondence about one of them with Bishop Talbot, 151

Starts the *Diocesan Messenger*; gift of books by Thomas Hughes (who died in 1897) to Rugby boys, 156

1899, Jan. 18. Marries Miss Mary Symonds, 157

Preaches at the Hague Peace Congress, 256

1901. Comments in his second Charge on the end of the Boer War, and national *ύβρις* and *νέμεσις*, 173

A "pro-Boer" only so far as judging our pre-War policy mistaken, 248; denounces the importation of Chinese coolies to South Africa, 253; supports Campbell-Bannerman in his "epoch-making South African policy," 254

Proposes in his second Charge "the establishment of a Church Council in every parish," thus anticipating the Enabling Act of 1919, 173

1902. Moves an amendment on the Education Bill of this year, proposing compulsory Continuation Schools, which found little support then, but was enacted in a strengthened form in 1918, 185

1904. His lifelong interest in the war against Drunkenness and Gambling was displayed in the Licensing Bill controversies of 1904-1908; he opposed the Bill of 1904 as "designed to benefit the Brewers," 228; supported Mr. Asquith's abortive Bill, 228; moved for Committee to inquire into the increase of betting, 229; (hence the Street Betting Act); moved the second reading of a Bill (1912) to restrict gambling advertisements, 234

Attends the Peace Congress

Percival, John (*contd.*)—

at Boston, U.S.A.; preaches there, and addresses 4000 hearers, 202

1905. Visits Egypt to see his son Colonel Arthur Percival; his ten days' camel ride, 209; account of the tour in extracts from letters to Mrs. Percival, 209-223

His equally lifelong interest in the cause of National Education, 258-283

1868. In 1868 he and Mrs. Percival formed a Committee at Clifton to promote the **Higher Education of Women**, and secured for the cause many eminent lecturers, 258; and Bristol University College and Clifton High School for Girls were first projected about the same time (1872), 259

1879. He was first President of the Council of Somerville College, and a prime mover of the **Oxford University Extension movement**, 265

1890. First Chairman of Council of **National Home Reading Union**, 267

1895. Gave evidence before the Royal Commission on Secondary Education, containing proposals involving the abolition of **compulsory Greek**, and otherwise anticipating coming reforms, 268

1897. On the defeat, at both Universities, of the proposal to grant degrees to women, he came forward (the day after the Cambridge decision!) with a fully developed scheme for a **Women's University**, on the ground that "it may reasonably be doubted whether the mixed education under a traditional system formed and intended exclusively for men should be the sole kind of university education accessible to women" (*Times* letter, dated May 22, 1897), 270

1903. Presides at the great Con-

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1905. With the help of his friend, Mr. Andrew Carnegie, he inaugurates the "excellently conceived and widely beneficial scheme" of **Book Boxes**, 289

Becomes Chairman of the Archbishop's Oxford and Cambridge Missionary Exhibitions Committee, 294; "Father Ignatius" attacks his third Visitation Charge, which had caused much stir in the Press, and was called by the *Liverpool Daily Post* "as salutary and sane a State Paper as any Prelate of the Establishment has ever put forth," 288

1907. Supports Bishop Gore's motion for the appointment of a Royal Commission on the Universities, 278

Impressions of Mr. Reuben George of his sermon at the inauguration of the **Tutorial Class Movement**, 281

Initiates a **Social Service Committee** to bring home to the Church people of Hereford the nature and importance of "problems about wages of labourers, state of cottages, drunkenness, gambling, and immorality," 295

1908. Suffers a great blow in the death of his eldest son Robert, 296

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1909. Supports Lloyd George's Finance Bill; sympathises with the aims of the Labour Party, but in a letter to the *Times* advocates arbitration in Strikes, 242; opposes the Bill for marriage with deceased wife's sister, 247

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- 1914. He loses his son Guthrie,
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Advocates British neutrality
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War, but is "suddenly illu-
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- 1915. His sixth and last Charge,
mainly devoted to the justi-
fication of his policy in making
appointments, 362

- 1916. Circulates proposals on the
question of the Reservation of
the Sacrament, with the aim of
finding some way of "meeting
those who feel a difficulty in
regard to communion of the
sick and yet are honestly loyal
to the spirit of the Prayer
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C. R. Norcock, 363

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